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LBJ's Voting Rights Speech

Despite the almost unanimous acclaim that greeted the President's message and the promises of speedy enactment, LBJ's extraordinary proposal demands extended congressional debate.

Does any Northern non-segregationist politician have the courage to challenge President Johnson on his "civil rights" speech? Will somebody, anybody, peg his talk before a joint session of Congress as the puerile, dangerous, demagogic stuff-and-nonsense that it was?

Surely the death of the Rev. James Reeb was a terrible and tragic event and undoubtedly some Alabama troopers were guilty of excessive force during "Bloody Sunday," as the civil rights demonstrators refer to the first break-up of their proposed march to Montgomery. These actions were reprehensible and their perpetrators should be punished.

But the President's address, we believe, was not an authentic plea for Negro equality before the law. Nor was it a worthy plea for equal voting rights, though if anyone might be an expert on the abridgement of voters' rights it should be the incumbent President, once referred to as "Landslide Lyndon" for his mysterious 87-vote victory to the Senate in 1948.

No, Lyndon's message was something else again. It had the unerring ring of the charlatan, not the statesman, the sales pitch of Elmer Gantry, not St. Paul.

For if the truth be told, the President's talk was simply an outrageous use of prime time to propagandize the American people over three television networks for 60 minutes about his domestic political program. Furthermore, it was a wonderful opportunity for LBJ to indulge in self-adulation with a major altering of the facts in his own life.

The "voting rights" topic was only the launching pad for serious discussion about the "Great Society" and the even Greater Lyndon.

A President sincerely interested in securing voting rights legislation for the Negro, with aid from both sides of the aisle, would have rigorously avoided jeopardizing that plan with a crass plunge into the political arena and a thinly veiled demand for congressional enactment of highly dubious anti-poverty legislation and other federal welfare measures. But not LBJ.

The Negro, according to Johnson, must not only have ballot rights. He must also possess a "trained mind" (LBJ's education boondoggle), a "healthy body" (LBJ's Medicare package), a "decent home" (LBJ's housing program), et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

And what else did the President's stirring message teach us? For one thing, we were overcome to learn that President Johnson, who never sponsored a civil rights bill until 1959 and who put a restrictive covenant in his own property, has been the champion of the civil rights movement ever since the late 1920s when he saw Mexican-Americans with "the pain of prejudice" in their eyes.

As his harangue droned to a close, the President's touches of megalomania began to grow lyrical: "I want to be the President who educated young people . . . I want to be the President who helped feed the hungry . . . I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth . . . ."

Where, oh where, is the Republican to retort to such blather? Perhaps the networks will give equal time.

The entire nation, not only Selma, has been engulfed with civil rights demonstrators in the past several weeks. Men have been killed in Alabama and hurt in Washington, D.C. Plainly, President Johnson could have done a great service to the country by bluntly warning the demonstrators, who have helped to incite this violence, that such demonstrations will no longer be tolerated, now that Congress and the courts have taken over.

But the President, for reasons known only to him, felt it best to sanction the demonstrations and glorify the demonstrators!

The Negro's "demonstrations have been designed to call attention to injustice, to provoke change and stir reform." (Indeed, it took eight weeks of Selma demonstrations before Johnson moved.) "And who among us can say we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent bravery . . .?" In other words, continue the lie-ins, on with the sleep-ins, hurrah for the sit-ins, forward with the marches—unless, of course, they're at the White House.

The President's demagogy, we feel, attained special heights. And it was reflected in Johnson's peremptory demand that Congress enact his bill post haste: "The time for waiting is gone," he said.

It was also reflected in Lyndon's egregious assertion that there is "no constitutional issue" regarding his new bill to amend the 1964 civil rights act.

But there *is* a constitutional issue, Mr. President. There is nothing in the Constitution that gives broad authority to the federal government to establish voter qualifications within the state.

Article I of the Constitution confers on the *states* the right to establish qualifications for their own voters in state and local elections. The Fifteenth Amendment says only, "The right of the citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

But under the Johnson proposals, the politically appointed attorney general, without a court order or proof of discrimination, can see to it that federal registrars (euphemistically called examiners) will ensure registration of voters in state, federal and local elections. Moreover, these registrars can totally ignore state qualifications such as literacy tests and the like.

The "goal" of LBJ's legislation, reports the Washington *Post*, "is to strike down all discriminatory literacy tests, so-called 'understanding' and 'character' tests, and even so-called 'moral' tests, unless it can be shown that the applicant has been convicted of a felony."

Certainly, there is legitimate doubt as to whether it is constitutional for Congress to eliminate these state tests. Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), considered one of the top legal experts in the country, argues that for years Congress has believed such legislation as the President proposes could only become legal if it were submitted in the form of constitutional amendments.

Notes the Chicago *Tribune* about Lyndon's vote package: "These were originally the doctrines of the post Civil War 'radical Republicans' with the 'force bills' of the 1870s, which were struck down as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that day."

The Washington *Evening Star*, while generally favorable to LBJ's proposals, also commented: "For our part, we prefer to reserve judgment until what the President calls a 'simple uniform standard' becomes available for scrutiny.

"One reason for this is the presentation of fiction as fact in some parts of his address. For instance, referring to the undeniable efforts in some areas of the South to keep Negroes from voting, Mr. Johnson said: 'The fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin.' The fact is that this is not a fact—at least as far as Alabama is concerned. Assuming that Gov. Wallace told the truth on Sunday, and we have seen no denial of what he said, there are some 115,000 Negroes registered and eligible to vote in his state. This represents more than 20 per cent of all the votes cast in Alabama in the 1960 presidential election. So we want to see what kind of voting standard . . . The true test is whether an individual, white or black, is qualified . . . It does not seem to us too much

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Tshombe vs. Anarchy

By RUSSELL KIRK

How exasperating for all African "nationalist" extremists and doctrinaire revolutionaries everywhere! M. Moise Tshombe, premier of the Congo, has dished them all again.

At the Nairobi conference of the Organization of African Unity, the radical zealots were unable to agree on a program of action against Tshombe's government, to interfere with the Congolese elections, or even to condemn Tshombe by resolution. Now they will not meet again for some months. Fearlessly present at this meeting dominated by his enemies, Tshombe foiled them at every turn.

And meanwhile he has obtained the moral and diplomatic backing of some 16 African nations, most of them among the more prosperous and stable African states. Nigeria has sent him several hundred policemen for service in Leopoldville. His force of "mercenaries" grows in size and efficiency, and the training of Congolese troops proceeds. The "simba" terrorists on the Congo's northeastern frontiers as yet have been unable to mount their boasted general offensive, despite vast supplies of modern weapons from Russia, China, Egypt and Algeria.

America and Europe now realize that it is either Tshombe at Leopoldville, or else anarchy and slaughter. Just across the river, at Brazzaville, the Chinese Communists have seized full effective control of the former French Congo. Last month black Communist terrorists in Brazzaville horribly murdered that state's president of the supreme court, attorney general and director of information. This is the standard sort of Communist coup when success is complete. The Brazzaville government now is abjectly subservient to Peking.

Even the U.S. State Department now seems to agree that Congolese leader Moise Tshombe must be supported.

So it becomes increasingly clear not merely to Europe and America, but even to the "moderate left" regimes of Africa, that if Tshombe should be overthrown, nothing short of the most virulent and murderous communism will live in central Africa. That being so, the comparative trickle of American military aid to the Tshombe government is unlikely to cease, whatever the crazy demands of certain American Negro "civil rights" agitators.

Very, very slowly even the American State Department begins to understand that we cannot continue to subsidize the enemies of order without ruining our own interests and the interests of our allies. With sufficient inconsistency, Washington still grants economic aid to Nasser in Egypt, though Nasser sends arms and officers to help the "simbas" against the Congo. But at least we now subsidize both sides in that fight, and not merely our adversaries.

In the Yemen, similarly, American surplus foods now will be supplied to the Royalist forces fighting against Nasser's army of occupation. We will feed both Egyptians and Yemenis, with impartial diplomatic lunacy! Yet this is better than simply aiding the aggressor in the Yemen, Egypt, which was our previous course.

Given a good deal of time, Washington might even veer round to the startling policy of paying more attention to such constitutional leaders as Tshombe than it pays to such dictatorial demagogues as Nasser, Ben Bella and Nkrumah.

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NO SHOW—"The chairman of the Suffolk County (N. Y.) Board of Supervisors, Evans K. Griffing, recently received a 'thank you' letter from Sen. Bob Kennedy. Kennedy referred to a metting held last month in Garden City, N. Y., with officials of Nassau and Suffolk Counties. 'It was good to have shaken hands with you,' Bobby wrote, assuring Griffing that it had been a pleasure to "meet you eye to eye.' There's one hitch: Griffing has never met New York's junior senator. 'The only time I ever saw Kennedy was on television. I couldn't attend the meeting in Garden City,' he says."—Syndicated columnist Fulton Lewis Jr.

Two Curbs on the NLRB Proposed by Sen. Tower

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Sen. Tower of Texas has introduced two bills in Congress to curb the powers and functions of the National Labor Relations Board. One would divest the board of its judicial function, transferring unfair-labor-practice cases to federal district courts—a move, the senator says, required "because of abuses by the NLRB in its operation under and interpretation of existing labor law."

Among the abuses he cites are NLRB decisions which have permitted secondary boycotting and encouraged blackmail picketing—both prohibited by Taft-Hartley and other basic labor statutes.

The board, he says, has also trampled on management's constitutional guarantee of free speech and impaired the right of those who risk their capital to make economic decisions necessary for proper management of their businesses.

Practically all the board's excesses and absurd decisions, Sen. Tower says, have reflected a central misconception

Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) would strip the National Labor Relations Board of its judicial function.

of its own role: the notion that Congress has given the NLRB a policy-making function.

The result has been that the board has charted for itself a course far afield from the law. Its decisions too often have demonstrated that it respects neither the letter of the law nor the intent of Congress. Its history of defiance, says Tower, "demonstrates its lack of fitness for any judicial role."

Sen. Tower's proposal that the NLRB be divested of judicial powers is not as radical as it may appear to some. The board was granted a judicial function by Congress so that the courts could be relieved of the task of weighing labor disputes. But, largely because the board has often failed to be impartial and judicious, most major labor decisions today wind up in the courts, anyway.

In one decision, now pending in the Supreme Court, the NLRB had ruled that an employer does not have the right to go out of business without permission of a union. "If we live under a genuine, free-enterprise system," says Tower, "then certainly the most fundamental right of an employer is that he is free to quit."

Ultimate effect of this position, if upheld, would be that a man, faced with an unprofitable business, could be forced to stay in business until he went bankrupt. Surely, the concept that a union should have the right to force continued unprofitable operations was never intended by our lawmakers when the National Labor Relations Act was adopted.

Sen. Tower's second bill would rectify this situation by simply and clearly specifying that: "Nothing in this act, or in any other statute of the United States, shall be construed to prevent an employer from permanently going out of business, in whole or in part, for any reason; nor shall such permanent going-out-of-business be, for any reason, an unfair labor practice."

Together, Tower's two bills would limit the NLRB to handling representational matters, including the conduct of employe elections. But the board would no longer investigate, prosecute or adjudicate unfair labor practices as it does today.

Originally the board was given certain judicial powers by Congress, only with the expectation it would be impartial and resolve labor disputes outside the courts. The time has come to restore to all litigants in labor cases the right to equal justice under the law.

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Is There a Taker?

From the Detroit *Free-Press*

Pravda says it is a myth that the United States is the heaviest contributor to the United Nations. The fact is, according to *Pravda*, that the United States makes a very handsome profit on the United Nations.

The way the Russian editor reasons it is that while the United States is paying annual dues of $24 million, it takes in $67 million from the various U.N. delegations. It is income, he says, from spending and taxes.

His calculation may be open to question, but even accepting it the United States is not realizing what *Pravda* claims.

What *Pravda* leaves out is the price of being host to the United Nations. For example, there is the added cost burden upon New York's police department.

Then there is the lost revenue ordinarly derived from traffic court fines. All the U.N. delegations have diplomatic immunity and most of them have bad manners. They double park, block fire hydrants, drive too fast and commit all manner of violations for which the ordinary citizen gets ticketed. The fact that they don't get tickets can be counted as a loss, not to mention a frustration.

Then, doubtless the biggest expense of all is the one incurred by the FBI. It uses up heaven only knows how many man-hours collaring members of Iron Curtain delegations who use the United Nations as a base for espionage.

Take it altogether, that financial gap narrows at a disconcerting rate.

In fact, we might be money ahead by offering to double our dues if the United Nations will transfer itself to Bucharest, Rangoon, Moscow, Oslo or wherever a taker—if any—can be found.

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Would Use Private Organizations

Agriculture Department Considers Bypassing Local Governments in New Surplus Food Program

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Agriculture Department is considering a revolutionary change in its distribution of surplus farm commodities to the poor that could have far-reaching impact on local and state governments.

The new policy, if approved, will permit private organizations, including civil rights, student and church groups, to handle the distribution of this food in counties that have refused this federal aid.

For the first time since the food program was set up by Congress after World War II and expanded in the 1960s, local authorities and agencies would be bypassed and their counsel disregarded.

Testing area for this controversial program will be in Mississippi's racially explosive counties, where the U.S. Youth Council and one of its facilities, the National Student Assn., have requested authority to distribute the food.

These liberal-leaning organizations propose to use the facilities of a host of civil rights groups and the National Council of Churches in the South to

Some officials feel that liberals such as Walter Reuther (above) could create new power structures in the states under the proposed food plan.

store and dispense the foodstuffs to both Negroes and whites in areas without programs.

Under long-established policy, the Agriculture Department offers surplus dried milk, dried meat, peanut butter, sugar and flour to state, county and

(Continued in next column)

city governments for distribution to those on relief and low-income families.

Local welfare departments or corresponding local government agencies are responsible for seeing that it goes to the right people.

However, in a number of areas, including many counties in the South, local officials have balked at setting up such programs or accepting the government's offers of free surplus food. Reasons for their lack of enthusiasm range from dislike of federal aid to a belief the food is not needed.

When faced with such local opposition in the past, Agriculture authorities went no further, on the ground it was official policy to distribute the surplus food only through local governments. While some Agriculture officials still maintain this was the intent of Congress in setting up the program, Assistant Secretary George Mehren is taking a broader view.

Supported by rulings of his department's legal office, Mehren, in backstage discussions on the policy change, contends it is legal to resort to private groups if local governments refuse to handle the food.

The unannounced rulings have opened the way for Secretary Mehren to consider the student groups' proposal, pending in the department since December, to distribute food in Mississippi. According to their plan, the student leaders would initiate their operation by selecting one of the 16 counties in Mississippi without surplus food programs.

They intend to recruit a staff from civil rights, church and other student groups to contact families in need of the food. As local government agencies usually do, the private organizations would pay for this distribution.

If this proves workable and successful, the student groups will expand their operations to other Mississippi counties and later to other areas of the country.

Several of Mehren's advisers, while approving the surplus food program as it now exists, are cautioning against going over the heads of local governments.

They hold the Agriculture Department should encourage these local authorities to set up programs and not provoke trouble by turning the job over to private groups involved in civil rights.

Failure of local officials to act, according to these advisers, also is advancing a growing trend in Washington to bypass local and state governments in allotting federal aid for anti-poverty, education, food and other projects.

They stress that if the student groups are permitted to hand out the surplus food, they will eventually seek funds under the anti-poverty program to pay for part or all of their operations.

"If the local governments don't take control and administer these aid programs," warned one of Mehren's counselors, "these officials are going to wake up one day and discover that these private groups have moved into their state using federal aid to create a new power structure. If they don't believe this can happen, they should read some of the speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, James Farmer and Walter Reuther."

The odds at the Agriculture Department are that Mehren and his boss, Secretary Orville Freeman, will approve the private distribution unless the White House steps in and bars a policy change.

* * *

Adam Yarmolinsky, barred from a top post in the anti-poverty program by congressional critics, is now helping select top officials for the Office of Economic Opportunity, which bosses the project. Although continuing on the payroll as assistant to Defense Secretary McNamara, Yarmolinsky spends almost half his time at the White House, helping Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy Jr. in his talent search for the anti-poverty program as well as other governmental departments. White House aides say Yarmolinsky is more powerful than ever. He also has teamed up with Richard Goodwin, another free-wheeling holdover from the Kennedy Administration, to write speeches for President Johnson. Goodwin is on the White House staff.

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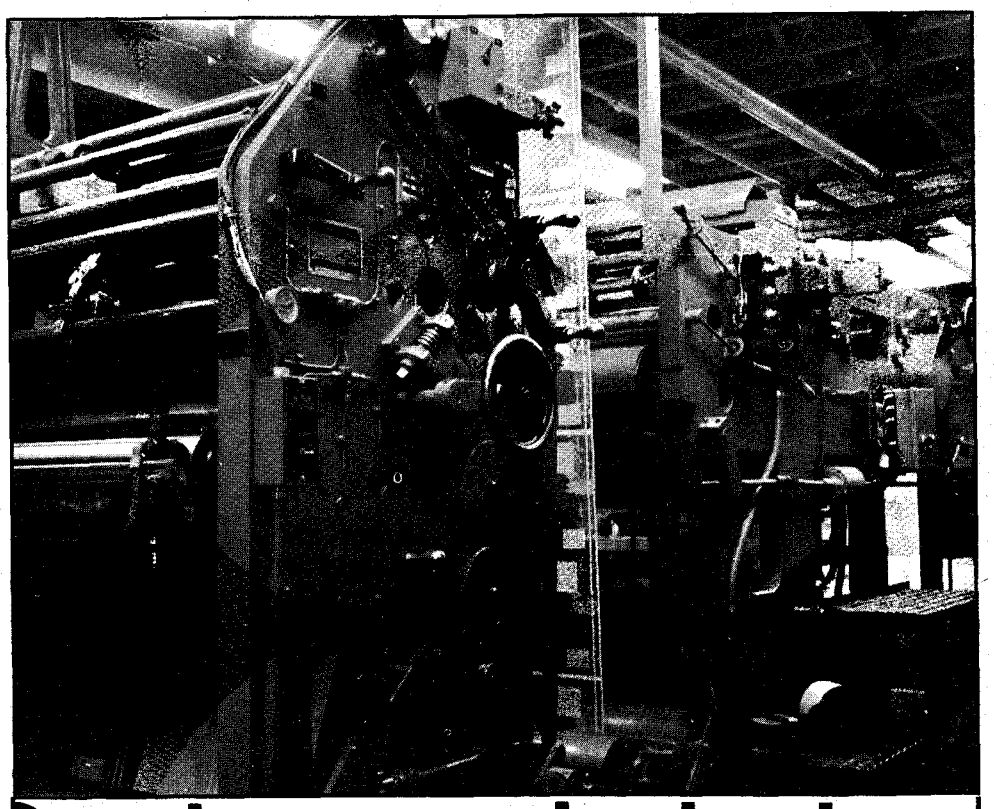
H.E.W. SPENDING RANKS THIRD

Among government agencies, only the Department of Defense ($47.9 billion) and the U. S. Treasury ($12.9 billion) now spend more than the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW's 1966 administrative budget request is $7.8 billion, making it bigger than the budget for the Department of the Interior, *plus* the Department of Justice, *plus* the Department of Labor, *plus* the Post Office Department, *plus* the State Department, *plus* the Atomic Energy Commission, *plus* the government of the District of Columbia.



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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Indiana conservatives hope to draft former Congressman Donald Bruce for the Republican nomination in the state's newly-created 6th Congressional District. Bruce, who gave up his House seat in an unsuccessful bid for the GOP senatorial nomination last year, would have to challenge Rep. William Bray, a GOP moderate, in the congressional primary. Bruce is currently the president of the American Conservative Union.

BRUCE

• *A liberal Democrat, Alabama's Sen. John Sparkman, has indicated strong opposition to the Administration's proposed program of rent subsidies to needy families. Sparkman is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and his opposition means the Administration will have a tough time winning Senate approval of the scheme.*

• The House Government Operations Committee, which is charged with being the economy watchdog of the House of Representatives, has 55 staff members, 52 of which are Democrats. Freshman Rep. John Erlenborn (R.-Ill.) says the GOP will ask private industry to underwrite the cost of increased minority representation on the staff, if committee Chairman William Dawson (D.-Ill.) and ranking GOP committee member Clarence J. Brown (Ohio) fail to reach a compromise. Erlenborn points out that with nine Government Operations subcommittees, Republicans do not even have a staff member for each subcommittee.

ERLENBORN

• *A Methodist minister in South Portland, Me., has condemned church leaders who have descended upon Selma, Ala. "I would suggest," said the Rev. Richard Arnold, "that if more of my brethren stayed home and tended their flock, our land would be less violent and the situation would be much more hopeful." Rev. Arnold said it seemed "entirely inappropriate" to him "for any man who speaks in the name of God to suggest to the people that they ever, under any circumstances, on any occasion, take the law into their own hands."*

• When Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) suggested recently that American tourists stay at home this year to ease the balance-of-payments deficit, a Republican colleague, Wallace Bennett of Utah, said: "I hope he includes Sen. Fulbright." The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year took taxpayer-financed junkets to Great Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Germany and Austria.

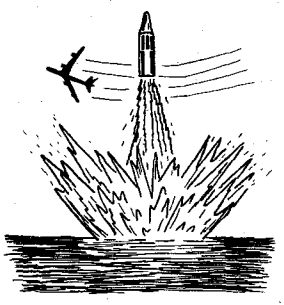
FULBRIGHT

• *Viet Cong agents are reported to have infiltrated the top-secret sessions in which South Vietnamese military men receive training by American instructors in the use of modern arms and military equipment. The infiltration has been going on since late 1961 and has enabled the Reds to incorporate into their arsenal any American weapons that are captured. The infiltration program was described in Moscow by Wilfred Burchett, a pro-Communist journalist just back from the front. A similar claim was made by Mao Tse-tung in a recent interview. The Pentagon has "no comment" on the claims.*

This Week in Washington

The Disarmament Agency

President Johnson has been taking a beating in his bid to get Congress to give the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency a four-year authorization.



Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S. C.) noted the "legislative history of H.R. 2998 has been an encouraging one so far." The bill, as introduced, would have provided authorization of appropriations for the agency in the amount of $55 million over a four-year period. The House of Representatives amended the bill to provide for appropriations of $40 million over a period of three years.

The Senate then passed an authorization for appropriations of $10 million per year for each of two years, or a total authorization of $20 million.

Thurmond insists Congress should further improve the bill by not authorizing a cent to the present agency.

The major reason for the progressive whittling away of the President's request has been an analysis of the boondoggles prepared by the folks at ACDA.

The Chicago *Tribune*'s Willard Edwards says senators, uninformed about the disarmament agency's activities since it was established in 1961, were astonished to learn that close to $30 million has been spent on such studies as:

"(1) An analysis of the effect of civil defense preparations on Russia's aggressive tendencies. Revealed by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S. C.), this 47-page report cost $147,000 or $3,000 per page, more than $3 a word. Its finding—massive building of shelters in the United States might—and again might not—allay Russian anxieties about the dangers of a nuclear strike for the United States.

"(2) A study entitled 'information and strategic stability' which advised the agency, in the words of Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), who unearthed it, that the way to prevent the arms race is for us to bury our head in the sand and ignore what our enemies are doing. The less that nations knew about each other, the study asserted, the greater the chance that they would disarm. The cost of this advice was modest—$10,000."

Even. Sen. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), appeaser par excellence, thought some of the studies were a "bit extravagant."

Commented Thurmond: "I realize, of course, that there are those who believe that the abolition of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency would end our negotiations on disarmament. . . . This, of course, just does not happen to be the case. . . .

"For every dollar spent by ACDA for research contracts on arms control and disarmament, other agencies spend $8, by conservative estimate, to finance studies in the same field."

In addition to ACDA, says Thurmond, the Defense Department, State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Labor Department, Commerce Department and even the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are financing studies on arms control and disarmament, or some aspects of the subject.

"Of all those engaging in this proliferation of research," says Thurmond, "ACDA offers the least possibility of substantial contribution of information bearing on either the means or the consequences of disarmament or arms control. . . . Of those contracting of such studies, ACDA alone has no operational function of government, no experience resources to apply and no responsibility for carrying on a governmental operation in the environment of the realities of the world in which arms control or disarmament must be applied."

• *White House aide Bill Moyers raised Capital eyebrows with a recent lecture to a group of Peace Corps veterans in Washington. Imploring the youngsters to enter politics, Moyers said: "Politics is the bow of idealism. The ideas are the arrows. You must have the virtues of Joan of Arc and the political powers of Adam Clayton Powell."*

The ADA Influence

Republican congressional leaders learned last week that a top official of the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action has been awarded a $98,000 contract by the Small Business Administration.

The firm of Robert Nathan Associates, Inc., has been given the government contract for a study of the problems, opportunities and prospects that will confront small businessmen in 1970. Nathan, an ADA vice chairman, held numerous positions in the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The Nathan contract came under heavy fire from Rep. Arch Moore (R.-W. Va.), ranking minority member on the House Select Committee on Small Business.

Moore said that his committee would shortly open an investigation into the Small Business Administration and said that Nathan's assignment "might well be a good place to begin."

Moore noted that Nathan, like Small Business Administration chief Eugene B. Foley (who got his job through the efforts of Hubert Humphrey), "is an ardent ADAer" and described the selection of Nathan as "typical of the ruthless political operation that Foley is conducting."

He said that Nathan's writings over many years "have tagged him as anything but a friend of business," adding that the contract "is an insult to every businessman in the country."

McCloskey Again

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) charged last week that federal loans on nine retirement home projects in Florida—three involving McCloskey and Company of Philadelphia—are in default with "scarcely any payments" having been made on principal or interest.

Williams said that "the very least the government should do" in such Federal Housing Administration cases is to "require any contractor to place his personal guarantee upon the mortgage the same as is required of individuals."

The nine multifamily projects carried loans totalling $23.0 million on properties constructed from Jacksonville to Miami, he said. Of the contorversial McCloskeys, Williams revealed:

"Officials of McCloskey and Company, Philadelphia, Pa., are owners or partners in three of these properties. These three properties which were constructed by the McCloskey associates are in default to the extent of $9,052,800 . . .

"Here we have three Florida properties constructed by the McCloskey interests and financed by government-insured mortgages aggragating over $9 million, all in default with total payment of only $6,572,31 having been made. One mortgage has already proceeded to the foreclosure stage and the appointment of a receiver. The taxpayers are left holding the bag."

Matthew H. McCloskey, who heads the Philadelphia firm, is a former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. During the Bobby Baker probe he was accused of routing a $25,000 kickback into Democratic campaign coffers when he won the contract to build the District of Columbia Stadium. He denied the charge.

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Negotiation Talk

Chalmers M. Roberts, a Washington *Post* correspondent with high-ranking Administration connections, reported recently what many Asian experts here believe are unofficial government feelers to the Communists to "negotiate" over Viet Nam.

In a page-one story, Roberts stated the United States "apparently is prepared to accept any one of a number of different 'signals' from Hanoi in order to start negotiations about the war in Viet Nam." The only reason no such signals have been acted upon, Roberts hinted, is that the Communists haven't sent any.

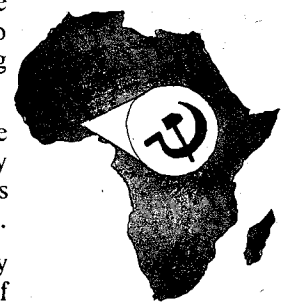
Roberts made it plain that, privately, officials admit they would accept almost any feeler, no matter how feeble, and that the United States would be willing to negotiate a neutral South Viet Nam, "free of alignment with either power bloc in the world."

Roberts stressed United States policy makers have "no desire to make South Viet Nam an ally in a military sense" even though this leaves the possibility of a "politically subverted" South.

Experts in the Nation's Capital have long believed that the central reason for LBJ's retaliatory raids on Viet Nam—described by Roberts as inflicting only "nominal" damage—is not to win the war there, but to force Hanoi to the negotiating table. But the United States must first receive the proper "signal" from Hanoi. American officials, says Roberts, are counting on the Soviet Union to put the pressure on Hanoi to give that "signal."

Red Star Over Africa

President Lyndon Johnson has promised one senator he would get rid of G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams as assistant secretary of state for African affairs. But so far "Soapy" continues to hang on to his job.



In a recent address to the University of Delaware, Soapy was still lathering his audiences with his soft-on-Soviet line.

The assistant secretary pooh-poohed the advances of communism in Africa. "Some people say that the Communists are taking over Africa. That just isn't so," said Williams. "The fact remains that the Communists have no satellite on the whole vast continent."

Soapy's rosy view of affairs is at severe odds with that of many experts, including Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a man who accurately called the shots on the Congo.

Last week Dodd gave a shocking account of Communist inroads into Africa. Speaking before the National Strategy Seminar in Town Hall, New York, Dodd warned that "the Communist offensive in Africa has entered a new phase, that of direct subversion, characterized by the use of trained cadres, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and assassination."

In his run-down of Communist successes in Africa, the senator described the Brazzaville Congo as an open satellite of Peiping—thus directly challenging "Soapy's" "no-satellite" pronouncement.

Dodd classified Ghana and Algeria "as quasi-Communist regimes. By this I mean regimes which have established internal political structures on the model of Communist totalitarianism, which have socialized the major sectors of their economy, which support Moscow and Peiping against the West on every vital cold war issue and which actively participate in the work of subverting the rest of the African continent."

The senator also said it "would be unwise to assume that the crisis in the Congo is now over. The rebels still control large areas in the countryside. Communist arm shipments can still reach them through Tanzania, through the Brazzaville Congo, and, to a more limited extend through the Sudan. With Chinese and Soviet and Algerian help, it is reported that 20,000 Congolese rebels have been regrouped and equipped with modern weapons and given intensive training in preparation for the next assault. And recent reports of military actions from the Congo indicate that the rebel units are already conducting themselves with much greater expertness and sophistication."

Has President Johnson compared this picture with the pastoral scene painted by "Soapy" Williams?

Jimmy Roosevelt

Reports from Los Angeles disclose that Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt, the ultra-liberal Democrat who seeks the city's mayoralty, is dispensing campaign funds with a reckless abandon.

The California lawmaker has been spending $10,000 a week for television time alone. That figure does not include the production costs of his numerous TV shows.

In addition, Roosevelt has purchased thousands of dollars of newspaper advertising space, staffed his 27 campaign headquarters with paid workers, and bought huge billboards throughout Los Angeles.

The Chicago *Tribune*, in a dispatch from Los Angeles reveals that Roosevelt is reportedly financed by the Teamsters of Jimmy Hoffa and by Las Vegas gambling interests. An aide to Roosevelt, Elizabeth Snyder, will not discuss the congressman's financial backers except to say "the money is being contributed by friends and supporters."

Roosevelt's chief opponent, incumbent Mayor Sam Yorty, is being outspent by at least 3-to-1. The mayor has thus far had only two half-hours of television and his newspaper ads are rare. (For more on Jimmy Roosevelt see *Human Events*, February 20.)

• Yorty last week revealed that Roosevelt's campaign manager, Richard Richards, was formerly the official representative for a firm which lost out in its bid to build a huge power project involving the city. "I had to argue against Mr. Richards," recalled Yorty. "It would have cost us $2.5 million more a year if [his] proposal was accepted. And now Mr. Richards is handling the Roosevelt campaign for mayor."

Situation in Selma

An analysis of the Selma situation appeared in an account in the New York *Times* (March 14, page 63). Written by Gay Talese, a *Times* man on the spot in Selma, the article quoted Seymour Palmer, the manager of I. Kayser & Co., a department store.

Said Palmer: "I'm confused. I really do not know why we are getting all this bad publicity. Selma is basically the same type of community as New York, just smaller, that's all. Did I not read that Rev. Milton Galamison was arrested in New York for his actions? Did I not see on television teen-agers being handcuffed in New York City? Did I not see mounted policemen charging on teenagers to disperse in New York City?

"Yes, I am confused by the two sets of rules being utilized. In Washington, yesterday, the demonstrators were stopped; and in New York a month or two ago, federal marshals hosed down demonstrators. Now what is the difference?"

According to Talese, someone interrupted Palmer at this point to say: "In Selma, the Negroes can't vote."

Palmer continued: "I do not think things can be accomplished by coercion." Palmer also pointed out, according to Talese, that Negroes had made tremendous progress here—making strides toward registration, being allowed to sleep in the Albert Hotel, to dine wherever they wish, to sit wherever they wish in theaters.

Palmer went on: "I was born in Boston lived in New York, and I am a Jew. I have lived in Selma for 20 years and have never experienced any anti-Semitism." The people of Selma, Palmer said, are all very sorry that the Rev. James J. Reeb was killed. But he added:

"Are those visiting preachers who now stand in the street defying authority, are they completely blameless in the death of Rev. Reeb? Here you have hundreds of preachers who decide to march against a federal court injunction, against an edict by state and city and against the will of President Johnson as expressed in the newspapers. Now, is this a sin? Can they, in their prayers to God, say they were without sin that morning? Can they in their hearts feel that they had no relation to the inflamed passions of the hoodlums who that night killed Rev. Reeb?"

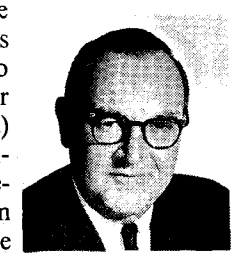
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.) has hit "trap door spending" by the Administration which obligated the United States to $750 million through the promises of Administration officials who last year visited Panama. "In past years we have heard much about back-door spending through the Treasury, without any congressional check through the appropriations process," Brock said on the House floor. "I am talking now about something that goes far further than mere back-door spending. Last April, at a meeting in Panama, U.S. officials decided that Congress would authorize and appropriate an additional $750 million to the Inter-American Development Bank's Fund for Special Operations. At a meeting dominated by Latin American officials, it was decided how much, for what purpose, and under what banking regulations the United States Congress would authorize and appropriate $750 million. We in Congress are now told that we must support this legislation [authorizing the funds] or stand accused of reneging on an international agreement entered into by our Treasury Secretary nearly a year ago."

BROCK

• *Fifteen hundred Communist agents are trained annually in Cuba to spread Communist subversion throughout the hemisphere, veteran correspondent Jay Mallin has written in a new book,* Fortress Cuba, Russia's American Base (*Henry Regnery Co.*). *Mallin says that anti-Castro guerrillas should be sent into Cuba on a massive scale. "Not a single American soldier need fire a shot," he writes. "All that is required from America is a genuine determination to get rid of Castro. Once the decision is made Castro will be overthrown."*

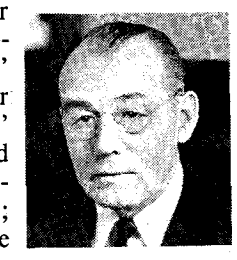
• California's economy is seriously threatened by cancellation of the bracero program, under which Mexican laborers have long been admitted to this country at harvest time to work the fields. A member of Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown's cabinet, State Employment Director Albert Tieburg, admits that growers in Ventura County, alone, are short 1,000 workers. "Only 18 per cent of the harvest has been completed as against 30 per cent normally at this time," he says. "By April, when the peak is reached, we may be 2,000 short."



BROWN

• *Egyptian voters were marched to the polls last week to vote for president. To no one's surprise, anti-American strongman Gamal Abdel Nasser was credited with 99.999 per cent of the 6.9 million votes cast. Sixty-five brave Arabs cast "negative" ballots (there was no opposition candidate).*

• Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) reveals the National Science Foundation last year shelled out the taxpayers' dough for the following studies: "Chromosomes of the Chipmunks" ($12,600); "Ecology, Behavior and Breeding of Tree Shrews" ($20,200); "Classification and Population Biology of Indo-Australian Ants" ($70,000); and "Speciation in Cave Beetles" ($14,000).



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'Bridges of Accommodation'

Fulbright's Follies

From the New York *Daily News*

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) says he has reason to believe that the Administration favors the tone, if not the details, of his latest project for "building bridges of accommodation" between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Whether or not—we hope not—President Johnson goes for Fulbright's follies, the senator is chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee. So his bridges need inspection or we'll break our necks on them.

Despite his recent criticism of our foreign handouts, Fulbright isn't really agin 'em. He just wants them to become part of one of his bridges. He'd turn over American economic-aid dollars to the World Bank's International Benevolent Association. The purpose? To remove the American label from the aid, so foreign nations won't feel insulted when they take U.S. dough.

The next plank in this bridge consists in a partnership of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. jointly to underwrite certain foreign aid projects. We can imagine what kind of foreign aid the Reds would agree to underwrite with us (like arming the Congolese rebels) and which "partner" would put up most of the money.

Another Fulbright bridge would be built across Central America, with the Soviet Union invited in as a partner in an international project to construct a new Panama Canal. He seems untroubled by the fact that his bridge would lead straight to a second foothold for the Commies—the first being in Cuba—in this hemisphere.

The senator also wants the Senate to ratify a treaty made last May with the Soviet (LBJ & Co. thought it wise not to push for ratification until after the 1964 election). It allows establishment of additional consular offices in various U.S. cities, thus giving the U.S.S.R. new havens for its spies and subversives. In return, the United States would establish more consular offices in the Soviet Union, thus giving Russian mobs additional structures to hurl rocks at.

Still another Fulbright bridge is expanded East-West trade. We'd sell the Commies the stuff their "workers' paradise" can't produce, and probably lend them the money to buy it.

The senator calls these "projects of practical cooperation" between us and the Red Slave Empire. He hopes they may lead to "other, bolder ventures" such as disarmament and German reunification. Germany, of course, could be unified any time the West Germans and the free sector of Berlin agreed to get swallowed by that slave empire.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) wants U.S. aid administered by the World Bank.

The Kremlin bosses undoubtedly would agree to disarmament—ours, not theirs. Any other kind of agreement would be worth no more than so harmless a one as exchange of weather data. It was entered into 17 months ago. But Deputy Administrator Dr. Hugh Dryden said recently that the National Aeronautics and Space Agency was considering closing down a communications link between Moscow and Washington because Russia wasn't supplying weather-satellite data as agreed.

These "bridges" aren't Fulbright's first try at appeasing (to use plain English) the Moscow Red conspirators. In 1961 he authored the Fulbright "muzzling-the-military" memorandum to button the lips of top armed services officers on communism; also to water down or end information programs for their troops about the nature of the enemy from which they are expected to protect us.

In 1963, the senator co-authored a pamphlet in which he extended his muzzling proposals to include Congress. In effect, he wanted the people's representatives (not including himself apparently) to shut up about foreign policy because they "modify or thwart the President's proposals." Again, in plain English, he wants to make the President a dictator in fact, if not in name, on foreign policy.

The senator was in again last year with his "New Realities"—meaning we should learn to live with the Communist marauders—his way of telling us that when a mobster is loose in the neighborhood we should learn to live with him because he exists.

Sen. Fulbright gets listened to because he is known in more rarified Washington circles as a big brain—Rhodes scholar, former president of the University of Arkansas, former U.S. delegate to the U.N. General Assembly. But maybe the late Sen. Joe McCarthy was right when he called him, not with senatorial courtesy, "Senator Halfbright."

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Free Speech at Berkeley

From the Arizona *Republic*

In recent days the leaders of the [Berkeley] Free Speech Movement (the university paper has renamed it the Filthy Speech Movement) have taken to parading with signs bearing a single four letter word, sometimes followed by the description "verb." . . .

We don't know whether a way will be found to retain Dr. Kerr at the University of California. But we do know that the American people do not believe free speech, guaranteed in the Constitution, earns the right to parade filth on a state-supported campus.

We think the faculty and students at Berkeley who have supported the Free Speech Movement have been duped by off-campus and out-of-state agitators who seek to destroy much of what America stands for. If these teachers and students will support Dr. Kerr in drawing a line between free speech and hard-core pornography, he may be able to remain at the head of a great and powerful university.

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University President Says:

'Counter-Cyclical' Theory Ignored

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Unless there is a strong burst of private business activity or a radical change in the Administration's present program of tax cuts and big spending, "the longest business expansion in recent U.S. history could come to a crashing close in 1966."

The above prediction came recently from Dr. Leland E. Traywick, the new president of the University of Omaha, as he addressed the Downtown Kiwanis Club on the economic outlook for the 1960s.

Dr. Traywick spoke neither as a prophet of doom nor as a Pollyanna type who thinks that everything will work out for the best. His subject was the business cycle, the Administration's assumption that it can control that cycle by compensatory public spending, and what the Omaha University president sees as the basic flaw in that assumption.

The basis of the "counter-cycle theory" is that government should work against the cycle. It should spend in bad times, and keep its hands off the economy in good times, said Dr. Traywick.

But while recent administrations have been eager to embrace the first half of the theory, they have ignored the second half. And what does this latter half say? Answered Dr. Traywick:

"Very clearly, that in and during times of prosperity, the debt should be paid back. That in times of prosperity, the private sector of the economy is very capable of running itself, and should be allowed to do so."

The present Administration has abused that theory; the boosting effect of tax cuts has just about run its course, and governmental activity is becoming a "drag" upon the economy, said Dr. Traywick.

Unless unnecessary governmental interference stops, unless the business community is allowed to run itself, the economy cannot be kept on an even keel, Dr. Traywick predicted. And he added:

"Great government spending programs are not needed. Neither are tax cuts; and certainly the Social Security program should be revised so as to help the economy rather than to be a burden."

The trend of business cycles is not immutable, as the O.U. president pointed out. Such cycles are subject to a variety of forces. But when government deliberately and consistently plays Mr. Big and refuses to give the enterprise system its head in times of prosperity, it is almost surely building toward a "crashing close" to the present economic boom.

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Poverty Commanders Strike It Rich

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

No one is fighting the "War on Poverty" harder than the poverty commanders in New Jersey. They are fighting so hard they nearly have the problem solved—for themselves.

Fighting hardest of all is John C. Bullitt, state director of the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity, who is being paid $25,000 a year, more than any member in the New Jersey governor's cabinet.

And just to make sure they keep poverty far, far away from the command post, Bullitt has been given two assistants at annual salaries of $19,000 each.

Paterson Mayor Frank X. Graves started roaring around his city hall in a state of high dudgeon when he discovered that the anti-poverty folks in that city had hired a director at $18,500, a salary $1,000 higher than that of Mayor Graves.

A freeholder in Monmouth County, Eugene J. Bedell, wondered why $52,000 of a $67,000 grant to the county anti-poverty program was ear-marked for salaries and administrative expense.

New Jersey Rep. William B. Widnall says he can't understand why Newark has hired 26 staff members in its "War on Poverty" who will get at least $10,000 annually—with the top man getting $23,000 and his deputy $18,000.

It appears that the New Jersey poverty commanders have adopted the motto: "The poverty war begins at home." Or, as a New Jersey poverty lieutenant *said while peering into a mirror:* "Give me a man with money and I'll show you a man who's licked poverty."

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THE ADMINISTRATION, seeking to discourage Americans from traveling abroad, suggests people see America first. Why not? Our best streets are as fraught with danger and adventure as the most exotic casbah!—By Bernie Yudain in *Roll Call*

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Bean-Drummond Article in 'Look'

Liberals Still Bothered by 27 Million

By ANTONI E. GOLLAN in the Indianapolis *News*

Almost five months after last year's presidential election it is beginning to dawn on liberal commentators that Barry Goldwater, despite the magnitude of President Johnson's victory, was endorsed by two-fifths of all voting Americans.

This despite the fact that the massive liberal communications establishment first ignored the significance of Goldwater's candidacy, then ridiculed it, then subjected it to the most gross distortions.

Nevertheless the Goldwater nomination last summer in San Francisco transformed the Republican party, reflecting as it did the basically conservative sentiments of rank-and-file Republicans across the country who together formed one of the few true grass-roots movements in American political history.

The task liberal propagandists have set for themselves now is to persuade the GOP that the 27 million votes for Goldwater last November do not represent significant conservative feeling. A typical example of such efforts appears in the current issue of *Look* magazine. Louis H. Bean and Roscoe Drummond have co-authored an article entitled, "How Many Votes Does Goldwater Own?"—and the answer, according to these two authorities, is not many.

Of the 27 million votes for Goldwater, the article claims, "the pure Goldwater [read conservative] vote lies between 2 million and 3 million—not more."

The reasons for such a conclusion are obvious: To persuade the GOP to become more liberal and abandon the hard-core conservatives who voted 27 million strong. And yet, on the face of the facts, the claim that only up to 3 million of these were actually conservatives, and all the rest merely party-line faithful, is an incredible claim.

If only 2.5 to 3 million Republican voters across 50 states were voting consciously for conservative principles, how are the liberals to explain the fact that in only 10 states, in Republican presidential primaries, Goldwater received a total popular GOP vote of 2,147,993? In these primaries GOP voters had the opportunity either to vote directly for Goldwater or against him.

And in these primaries Goldwater, representing the conservative position, received 47.7 per cent of all GOP votes cast. His closest competitor, liberal New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, received 10 times the popular GOP primary vote garnered by his principal convention opponent, liberal Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton.

The absurdity of the Bean-Drummond calculations is also revealed in their estimation of the state of California, where, they say, only 400,000 Republican votes cast in November were actually Goldwater-conservative votes. But in the June 2 Republican primary, which the Arizona conservative handily captured to assure his nomination in San Francisco, he received well over one million votes—in a contest in which he was pitted against the liberal Rockefeller, who explicitly campaigned as a stand-in for all Republicans other than Goldwater.

Why then the frantic effort to "prove" the Goldwater vote in November did not represent a revitalized conservative movement in America? Perhaps because the authors are determined to persuade the GOP that it must hew more to their own liberalism and that national goals—in their own words—"cannot be achieved without the federal government playing a substantial role."

The existence of 27 million conservatives on the American political scene simply might make the GOP think twice before becoming a second liberal party. And so they are to be explained away.

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"I HAVE BEEN DRIVEN many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I have nowhere else to go."—Abraham Lincoln

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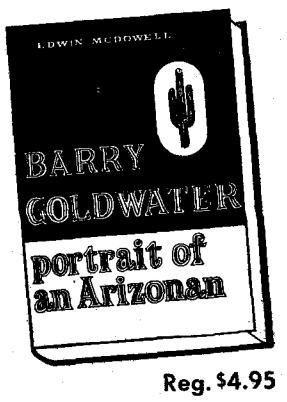

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BARRY GOLDWATER—*Portrait of an Arizonan*

By Edwin McDowell

Based on facts gleaned from personal papers of the Goldwater family, from rare history books, from old-time newspaper accounts, and from extensive conversations with Goldwater and with those who knew him since childhood, the book explains the presidential candidate in the perspective of his Arizona upbringing. More lucidly than any other published account, it explains how a businessman from one of our smaller states has become the acknowledged spokesman for a grass roots cause.

There are rare insights, personal reminiscences, and intimate glimpses of Goldwater. Included also are accounts of Goldwater's treatment by the Communist party, his public and private views on the Negro question, and his relationship with organized labor.

About Edwin McDowell: An editorial writer for the Arizona **Republic**, the state's largest newspaper, McDowell has undertaken wide-ranging special assignments. He has contributed articles to **National Review**, the New York **Times Book Review**, **Human Events**, the **New Leader** and other publications.

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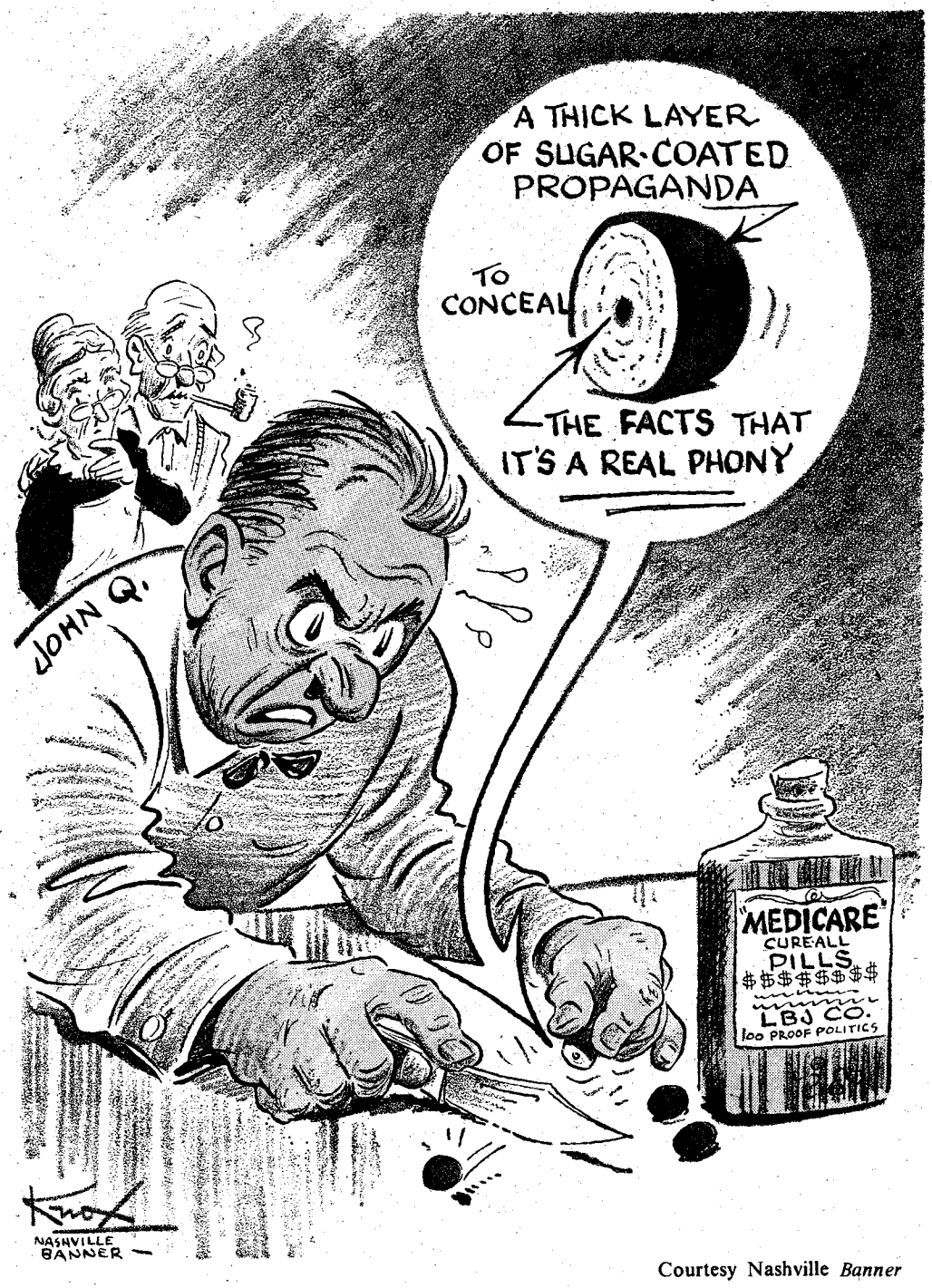

Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

British Medicare Not 'Free'

By PAUL HARVEY

Some of London's most famous hospitals are falling apart. Little wonder. Many of the buildings are more than 200 years old.

In the 17 states of the Southern region of the United States (an area roughly equal to the United Kingdom in population) there have been 515 new hospitals constructed since World War II. In all of Britain, they have built only 10 new hospitals since the big war.

Sir Arthur Porritt, surgeon to the Queen, is a consultant at St. Mary's where the ceiling of one ward collapsed early this month. He predicts the hospital's dyspeptic elevator will collapse next. He called the whole hospital a "shambles" and "a menace to health."

At the same time, Britain's 23,000 family doctors complain that the government has saddled them with so much paperwork that they have little time left to practice medicine. Further, as "public servants," British doctors are paid less than many British tradesmen. They threaten to resign from the National Health Service at the end of this month unless their wages and working conditions are materially improved.

Let's learn what we can from their experience.

When British doctors first "went to work for the government" under Prime Minister Attlee, the British people were promised that medical services would be "prompt" and "free." They have been neither.

The cost of "free medicine" has been *several times greater* than the authors of the idea anticipated. If British physicians are now successful in securing a pay raise, the taxes necessary to pay for it will have to go even higher.

Worse, to Britain's state doctors, patients tend to become numbers rather than people. Many patients, suffering nothing more serious than indolence, seek medical treatment merely because it is "free." This traffic further overloads the doctors' waiting rooms.

U. S. politicians elected on a promise of aiding the elderly are now obligated to provide that aid in some form.

Our choice is between two forms: Medicare, a prescription by bureaucrats. And Eldercare, an aid program carefully drawn up by professional medical men.

Eldercare would benefit people over 65 who need it. It would provide no benefits for the well-to-do. Eldercare would be administered by experienced insurance people, rather than by inexperienced bureaucrats. Eldercare, endorsed by 200,000 doctors, merits the careful consideration of your congressman before he saddles you with more taxes.

Whenever you ask government to provide for you any service which you have historically purchased for yourself, government has to do it with your money. That's rather like a man giving himself a transfusion from his right arm to his left. Only when a bureaucrat does it, he is likely to spill half of it in the process.

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Red China's Record— A Challenge to Peace

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

It is good to report that the pro-Red China faction in the Federal Establishment has been forced to tread water for a while. This does not mean that plans to bring the Chinese Communists into the United Nations have been abandoned. But events in Viet Nam have made it somewhat less popular to advocate a sharp change in America's Far Eastern policy.

The importance of this new development is this: It gives those fighting appeasement of the Communists a little more time to organize and to campaign. And it allows those who would spread the word of Red China's perfidy to do their educational work.

As readers of this column know—and thousands of them have written to thank me for it—I have been mounting my own one-man attack on admission of Red China to the United Nations or recognition by our government. If you will allow me, then, to write once again on this subject, I shall be grateful.

My text today is a pamphlet published by the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (79 Madison Avenue, New York City) entitled "Embassies of Subversion." The author is Suzanne Labin and the introduction is written by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat. Mme. Labin cites chapter and verse to prove her charge that Red China's embassies are the foci of Communist infection.

But she also discusses the subject of Red China in the United Nations and draws up a bill of particulars against the rampant followers of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. At the risk of boring you, I would like to give you this information. Here are the aggressions which make Red China ineligible for membership in the United Nations:

1. Massive aid to Viet Minh Communists in Indo-China in the bloody war against France and the natives.

2. The brutal invasion of South Korea against forces under the command of the United Nations.

3. Subversion and guerrilla warfare in Burma.

4. The conquest of Tibet and the genocide of its people.

5. The attack against her "friend" India—an unprovoked war in which 6,000 Sikhs were massacred in one day.

Mme. Suzanne Labin has written a pamphlet proving that Red China's embassies are a chief source of subversion.

6. Support in force of the guerrilla war in Laos.

7. The intensive bombardment of Quemoy and Matsu.

8. Terrorism, slaughter and guerrilla warfare against South Viet Nam.

9. Direct military and other assistance to murder and subversion in Africa and Latin America.

10. The training and arming of Indonesian guerrillas now fighting against the Malaysian Federation.

11. Intensification of the opium traffic as an instrument of national policy—to raise money and to weaken the West.

It would be difficult for one of those bleeding hearts who "explain" Red China's depredations as a "reaction to colonialism" to justify the attack on India and the use of narcotics.

It was the late Prime Minister Nehru, leader of an India liberated from the British Crown, who made himself the world's leading defender of the Red Chinese. When Red China's efforts to gain a seat in the United Nations were put to a vote in that body, India spoke and voted for it. Nehru repeatedly "guaranteed" the peaceful nature of Red China.

With great ceremony, India and Red China signed a pact in 1954 which was suddenly and ruthlessly broken in 1962 when Communist troops killed Indian defenders and annexed some 200,000 square kilometers of territory.

If this is how Red China treats her best friends, how will she act in the United Nations when she is confronted by those nations which she so passionately hates? The answer is not hard to come by.

Then there is the matter of the opium trade which traffics in human misery and the destruction of the young. In a report to the United Nations some years ago, it was disclosed that Peking "cultivates the poppy, extracts the drug, arranges its transportation, opens the opium dens, consummates the illicit sales and controls the global drug market."

Mme. Labin further notes that the Communist goals are threefold: "To acquire funds, to enslave agents, and to deprave the free world. For the first time in the history of mankind, the chief magistrates of a major state have become bosses of the vilest of underworld activities."

Recognize Red China and let her consulates open their doors in the United States. The drug traffic will become that much better organized, with opium derivatives being shipped in diplomatic pouches.

That's my little speech. The pamphlet will tell you the rest.

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IS IT WORTH THE PRICE?—Since 1964 we have sent Nasser $720 million worth of goods under PL 480. Cost of this aid, including transportation, is $1.1 billion. The last authorization by the Department of Agriculture under the Food for Peace program (for some $17 million worth of wheat) was issued only five days after President Nasser denounced the United States and told us "to go drink sea water."—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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President Tells Labor Chiefs He'll Hold Congress In Session Until Next Year to Get Program Through

By VICTOR RIESEL

For two hours on Wednesday, March 10, President Johnson poured out his heart and talked out his troubles with three friends who are about as un-Texan as an Eskimo seal hunter.

He spoke to them as he would to few others, for they have become his intimates in recent years.

Outside his office waited the secretary of the treasury. Even the helicopter flight to Camp David was delayed.

But Mr. Johnson did not heed the clock, because the men with him were George Meany, America's blunt-talking Mr. Labor; David Dubinsky, spunky and ebullient and as quick with the (verbal) needle as are the ladies garment workers he leads, and the Van Dyke-bearded self-effacing Jack Potofsky, head of the men's garment union.

To them President Johnson disclosed there were many problems piled up, so many laws he wanted to push through that he planned to keep Congress in session right up to 1966.

The chief executive opined that matters were moving very slowly through the Congress. He well knew why the labor leaders had come. They, too, had a series of proposed laws for him to carry up the Hill.

He had been briefed exactly a week earlier during an off-the-record meeting, of which only one White House staff member was aware. So Mr. Johnson was prepared.

Time and again throughout the two-hour session, to which he brought in Labor Secretary Wirtz and some economic advisers, the union leaders hit on one main theme: the insistence that the time had come to make a start on cutting the workweek from a statutory 40 hours to 35. He listened as they pounded politely but firmly. He did not say yes. But he did not say no. He was not "unsympathetic."

Between off-the-record analyses of Viet Nam fighting and fleeing gold, the President also was urged to fight for the extension of the $1.25 minimum wage law. This the President promised to do. As they told him of workers in the capital who got 70 cents an hour, the President had some two million low-paid workers in mind for extended coverage.

But the labor leaders talked to him of extending the coverage to 10 million workers in laundries, hotels, motels, restaurants, saw mills, small stores and scores of other businesses which pay their help less than $50 a week in many parts of the land.

Some insiders know that the President considers this impractical. It would start a loud ruckus in the Congress where he wants no more bouts than already appear scheduled.

They also asked for what he privately deems to be impossible to attain now—increasing of the national minimum wage to $2 an hour—or $80 a week.

These are all in his "package," it was indicated. But the time for delivery is not yet. Too many packages are piling up on the congressional threshold, he pointed out.

But there are other packages which can be delivered—or at least fought for, it was indicated. He backed their demand for double time instead of time-and-a-half for overtime. They said they wanted double time for their followers not because it would increase wages but because it would punish the employer who preferred an overtime schedule to hiring men, building new plants and buying new machinery for the increased work force.

And not for one moment did the labor chiefs forget their demand for repeal of what is called Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law. This revision would wipe out right-to-work laws in 19 states which now forbid a union shop and dues check-off.

The President said his demand for such repeal would be in an early package. But not yet. Not until there are no more labor crises and strikes such as the one which still crippled some ports even as they talked.

Mr. Johnson indicated he did not want to give labor's critics in the Congress a chance to open up.

Thus, what was set for a half-hour conference turned into a two-hour heart-to-heart conversation among friends.

Near the end Mr. Johnson turned to Labor Secretary Wirtz and directed him to make a study of all the proposals brought by Messrs. Meany, Dubinsky and Potofsky. The President asked Mr. Wirtz to complete his study of labor's demands in a few weeks. Then there would be another such parley.

Finally, with a typical Johnsonian touch, the President asked Mr. Dubinsky to carry a message to their mutual good friend and political ally, Alex Rose, head of the hatters' union.

"Dave, tell him I'm wearing a hat," said the President.

"For you I will tell a lie," said Mr. Dubinsky with a grin. "I'll tell him you wore one in the office."

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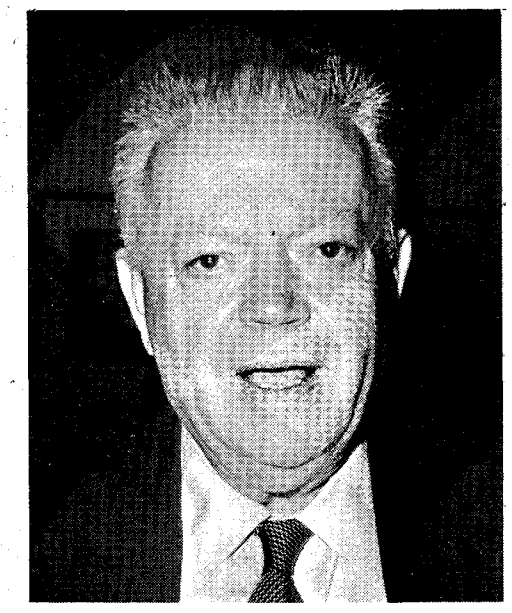

AFL-CIO President George Meany (left) and David Dubinsky, head of the ladies' garment workers, were recently guests at an intimate White House meeting.

Heavy Crime Rise

Judicial Leniency Should Be Given Much More Attention

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The FBI's latest crime report has come as a frightening shock to the entire nation.

Figures showing a heavy increase in every category of vicious lawlessness speak far more eloquently than President Johnson's recent special crime message to Congress. And they far exceed even the many "crime in the streets" statements by Republican candidates during the 1964 presidential campaign.

There can be no arguing with raw statistics which show that across the nation there has been a 9 per cent increase in murder, a 19 per cent increase in forcible rape, an 18 per cent increase in aggravated assault and a 12 per cent increase in robberies. In addition, automobile thefts rose 16 per cent, larcenies of $50 or more increased 13 per cent and burglaries 12 per cent.

The situation is now so serious that it could get completely out of hand unless there is combined action on the part of the government, the public, the police and the judiciary.

As President Johnson has pointed out, there are no easy answers to the heavy and continual increase in the crime rate. The problem requires action and above all awareness on many fronts. Thus it is difficult to understand why the Administration took so long to recognize the problem in all of its ramifications. The President's much-needed exposition should have been among the first messages he sent to Congress rather than the last.

Now that it has come, the importance of the President's message lies more in its recognition of the crime rate as a "national problem" than in the legislative remedies proposed. Most of these, including the measures of restricting the sale of "goof balls" and control of mail-order guns, are already before the Congress in bill form. As for the creation of a presidential committee to study crime, it is difficult to see what this will accomplish that hasn't already been done in literally hundreds of studies and reports.

President Johnson's message was a well balanced presentation, but he should perhaps have given more attention to the prevalence of judicial leniency in the handling of hardened criminals. Judges stand accused of "coddling" criminals in city after city and of using various technicalities to release prisoners charged with serious offenses.

The latest such incident occurred in Chicago, where a judge freed two men who assaulted police officers, injuring one seriously, on the grounds that the policemen were not justified in drawing their revolvers to make the arrest. Judge George N. Leighton justified his action by stating that "the right to resist unlawful arrest is a phase of self-defense."

Almost certainly with such extraordinary legal rulings in mind, President Johnson's message said:

"There is misunderstanding at times between law enforcement officers and some courts. We need to think less, however, about taking sides in such controversies and more about our common objective: law enforcement which is both fair and effective."

In the face of such rulings as Judge Leighton's it is next to impossible for American citizens to think less about taking sides. Police are the lawful guardians of our safety, and if police officers are not to be permitted to take whatever measures they think necessary in making arrests they might as well not exist. Under the Leighton ruling, any criminal could decide he was being arrested unlawfully and take the law into his own hands and resist with violence.

Cases such as this would seem to require more taking of sides by the general public rather than less if it is to get the protection to which it is entitled. A calm public acceptance of outlandish rulings in favor of criminals can do nothing but encourage further disregard for authority.

The President and the nation's judges should understand that there is such a thing as leaning too far backward in protecting the rights of the accused.

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Congressional Reform

By Rep. BARBER CONABLE (R-N.Y.)

Whatever their political viewpoints, congressmen are accused collectively and individually of being arch-conservatives when it comes to procedural reform for the Congress itself. It is quite popular among political scientists and other outsiders to berate Congress as an anachronism, a dinosaur, tradition-ridden to the point of paralysis.

Lately some of this talk has been picked up within the group itself, where young liberals have tried to prove they are young liberals by writing books on "streamlining" Congress. There isn't any human institution that can't be improved, but it seems to me that the most strident advocates of reform usually fall into one of three groups:

(1) Those who would like to reduce the role of seniority in committees or bypass it, because they are not senior.

(2) Those who are not in the majority but won't admit it. They would rather pretend that a conspiracy of red tape ties up their pet projects than to admit that most congressmen don't agree with them.

(3) Those who want to make Congress more subservient to the President. If the President were of another party, this group would be strangely silent.

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Do Businessmen Really Want More of the Same Policies?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Business leaders are described in a *Fortune* magazine survey as happy with the policies of President Johnson's first year in office and wanting more of the same. Yet many of their specific ideas indicate that this is not really what they want at all.

Fortune based its article on interviews with the high officers of some 30 corporations with nation-wide operations. The "more of the same" which they want was defined in the article as "frugal budgets, a good climate for business expansion, more tax reduction if it does not mean chronic deficits, and relatively easy money."

These are understandable wants. We are astonished, however, that any substantial number of top business executives think these are what they are getting under the Johnson Administration.

Frugal budgets? If the President's budget proposal for 1966 is frugal, we'd hate to see an extravagant one. He managed to make it sound restrained, almost conservative, in his budget message. Under subsequent analysis, the figures and his program point the other way.

It is not an "under $100 billion" budget. The total of requested new spending authority, according to a study by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, is $112.4 billion. Six billions of this is to supplement the 1965 budget, which was juggled before adoption to make it look that much better than it really was. More supplements will be asked next year. The council's analysis pinpointed $2 billion worth of figure juggling which makes the 1966 budget request look better, but which will have to be covered later. Planned spending commitments for individual agencies add up to $108.2 billion for 1966.

Further increases in future years are built into the programs scheduled or requested for 1966. Some of them are to get only seed money in the 1966 budget, with the heavy spending to come in later years.

More tax reduction without chronic deficits? Last year's tax reduction was with—not without—a deficit. Another deficit is slated for 1966, even if there is no tax cut. Further tax reduction will just enlarge the planned deficit. Chronic deficits are the very definite prospect for the foreseeable future. The President says he wants a balanced budget, but his budget makers apparently do not get the message.

Relatively easy money? Well, that depends—relative to what? In prospect now is a harder money policy. It is inescapable because of the continuing balance-of-payments problem. The longer a practical solution is put off, the harsher the ultimate policies will have to be.

Getting down to specifics, the *Fortune* article enumerated a number of things wanted by the interviewed executives which represent change—not continuity—in federal policies. Among items listed as most urgent was clarification and consistency in the government's policy toward business mergers. One executive said it is virtually impossible for a large corporation to expand by merger without risking litigation.

Lower on the list were such things as reducing bureaucratic interference and harassment, revision of the tax system to put more reliance on indirect taxes, relief from the vexations of government regulation, a halt in the trend toward centralized government, and getting the government out of activities that compete with business. None of these is likely by present indications.

There also was a list of things the business executives don't want. Among these were further expansion of "Socialistic" or "welfare state" programs, further raises in the minimum wage, and federal intervention in collective bargaining processes. Existing policy points toward, not away from, these things.

"Business leaders consider the greatest gift to be the status quo," the article quotes an executive. If that is so, they'd better take a closer look at the status quo.

Buttons: "I am fighting poverty—I work.", "I am a RIGHT WING EXTREMIST", "Sweep out Brown". *Bumper Stickers:* "REAGAN for GOVERNOR", "RECALL BROWN", "Please, Uncle Sam—I'd rather do it myself". 25¢ each, any 5 for $1.00. For bulk rate mail to California Conservatives for Political Action, 2521 Durant Ave., Berkeley, California.

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Leftist Active In Mississippi

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Senate probers have learned that a New Jersey lawyer once identified as a Communist is now active in the civil rights drive in Mississippi. He is Morton Stavis, an attorney with offices in downtown Newark.

Stavis recently led a group of lawyers into Mississippi to lay the legal groundwork for the ouster from Congress of the state's five representatives. Stavis and his fellow barristers argue that Negroes throughout the state have been systematically denied the right to vote and that Mississippi's congressmen are therefore sitting illegally.

The files of congressional committees disclose that Stavis was known to be a Communist during the late 1940s and early 1950s. He and his wife were summoned for testimony by the House Un-American Activities Committee on Feb. 28, 1956, and both took the Fifth Amendment on all questions dealing with past or present membership in the Communist party.

Stavis has been active in several groups found by Congress to be Communist fronts, including the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He has represented several accused Communists. In one such trial in 1952, Stavis served as counsel for Sylvai Neff, who was found guilty of filing a false non-Communist affidavit. Federal Judge Thomas M. Madden, who presided, accused Stavis of "throwing sand and legal gravel in the eyes of the jury." He said to Stavis:

"I have never had my patience tried so much before. You tried me so thoroughly that I had to go to a doctor so I could stay on the bench to conclude the trial. Both you and your client have no idea what it means when you take an oath such as you took when you became a member of the bar. You followed the obvious line of the Communist party to such an extent that it was open and obvious to the jury what your methods were."

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Mental Health and Urban Renewal

A devastating attack on the federal urban renewal program was released recently by the government's very own National Institute of Mental Health. The report followed interviews-in-depth with 500 families who lost their homes when bulldozers cleared Boston's West End for a multi-million "slum-clearance" project.

The government report disclosed that residents uprooted from their homes may grieve as deeply as they would over the loss of a husband or a wife. The general sense of loss may persist for several years, threatening the emotional health of those affected and bringing an increase in mental illness.

Concludes the report:

"Proponents of urban renewal projects sometimes reason the uprooted people would benefit from slum clearance and forced relocation [in that it would give them] an opportunity for advancement. For the majority of the families investigated, this assumption has not been borne out by the present study or by similar studies elsewhere . . . . Residents of an area like Boston's West End . . . . look on it not as a slum . . . . .but as home."

The following quotations were typical of those interviewed for the study: "I felt like my heart was taken out of me . . . I lost all the friends I knew . . . I always felt I had a home to go home to in West End and even now I feel like crying when I pass by."

• A member of the Maryland state legislature, Baltimore Democrat Julian L. Lapides, recently lectured his colleagues on the facts of urban renewal life.

"I live in an urban renewal area," he said. "Many of you don't realize the harassment we are subjected to."

Lapides stated that urban renewal bureaucrats insist they have a legal right to enter any private home in a "redevelopment" area without the owner's or tenant's consent. "This is ludicrous and an invasion of rights," he insisted.

"This may sound corny, but a man's home is his castle and he has a legal right to keep his property any way he wishes as long as it is not harmful to his neighbor's health, safety or welfare."

Book Review

'Paying Men Not to Work'

From *ACTION in Kentucky*

With all of the alarm about unemployment, it's surprising that so few interested observers question the propriety of giving incentives to people to be unemployed.

Now, however, an excellent book has been published on this subject. Entitled *Paying Men Not To Work*, its author is Oscar W. Cooley, Associate Professor of Economics at Ohio North ern University (the book is published by Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho; $2.50).

Professor Cooley points out that men consider leisure time as an incentive to be considered alongside monetary wages. When a man can make almost as much for resting—thanks to government hand-outs—as he does for working, he will naturally find it more rewarding to remain unemployed.

Paying Men Not To Work investigates the many different artificial incentives provided by the state and federal governments. There are chapters on unemployment insurance, relief, "urban renewal," aid to "depressed areas," etc. In each case, Cooley shows how this program draws money away from the productive to encourage idleness or inefficiency by others.

He advocates government withdrawal from all programs that subsidize idleness. "Such action, we predict, would be followed by such a surge of productive activity as this country has never seen. As the easy, lackadaisical, subsidized life came to an end, men would bestir themselves, throw off their aid-induced lethargy, shed the cynical 'everybody's - getting - his - why - shouldn't - I - get mine?' attitude, and go to work with vigor and daring."

He also calls attention to the fact that the subsidies for idleness sap the incentive of those who have to pay for the subsidies. Too, the money tied up in unemployment insurance is money that could have gone into creating new jobs. Instead, it is used to encourage the very opposite course.

He concludes by saying: "The American people have their choice. They can have a shrinking, receding economy in which more and more workers are paid not to work, or they can have a dynamic, forward-moving economy made up of energetic, self-dependent people who pay for what they get and get what they pay for."

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Justice Douglas' Words Cheering to Red China

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

Justice William O. Douglas' comments in a press conference the other day must have leaders of the Peking regime rubbing their hands in glee. The far-left member of the U.S. Supreme Court called for demilitarization of Formosa and admission of Red China to the United Nations. He predicted that China will dominate world affairs in the next century and said the West must prepare to face the problem.

Justice Douglas frequently has expressed views on foreign affairs which are diametrically opposed to American principles and policy. In his latest public discourse on the subject, he predicted that there will be as many Chinese in the 21st century as the present world population. The first step in preparing to deal with a world full of Chinese, he said, should be the demilitarization of Formosa. Nationalist China, a powerful bulwark against Red Chinese aggression, then would be left virtually helpless.

The public comments of Justice Douglas on such matters are particularly damaging to American interests because of his high position in government. He is looked upon abroad as a spokesman for the United States government. His comments are inappropriate in the extreme. There are too many self-appointed spokesmen for our government.

Justice Douglas has indicated that he plans to retire from the bench soon. The sooner the better.

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Reagan as Candidate?

Politics in California

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

After taking a licking in his 1962 attempt to become governor of California, Richard Nixon remarked that "California politics is a can of worms." That was an experienced politician's way of saying that no one can go into a campaign in California and know precisely where he will come out.

The prospect is extremely sobering to TV star Ronald Reagan, whose moving and extremely well-documented speech in behalf of the Goldwater ticket last fall made him one of the most courted Republican figures in the nation. There isn't a day when Ronnie Reagan isn't asked to speak somewhere, whether in Connecticut or at some district organization right around Los Angeles. And the boom is on among conservative Republicans to persuade Reagan to say he'll run for governor of California in 1966 against Pat Brown, the man who beat Nixon.

Reagan is flattered by the attention he is getting, but he isn't letting it go

Liberal Republicans are booming Sen. Thomas Kuchel for California governor.

to his head. Recently, at an engraved-invitation affair in the San Fernando Valley to which local Republican bigwigs had been invited to look Mr. Reagan over, the personable Ronnie said he'd only consent to run for office on condition that it wouldn't cut the Republicans up.

Reagan is a most intelligent man who does his own political research and writing, and he knows what factionalism can do to beat anybody in California. The Republican party hasn't been the same in California since former U.S. Sen. William Knowland and the then incumbent "Goodie" Knight got into a hassle over who should run for governor, and the growing split between right and left-wing groups hasn't done anything recently to improve matters.

The factionalism remains turbulent under the surface even though the talk everywhere is of "unity." The liberal Republicans are booming the senior U.S. senator, Tom Kuchel, for governor, and are quoting polls to show that Kuchel would get some 75 per cent of the Republican vote and 33 per cent of the Democratic in a contest against incumbent Pat Brown.

But Mrs. Floy Archer of Whittier, the newly elected head of the California Young Republicans, a 13,000-member organization, has been quoted as saying she would not work for Kuchel, though she "would vote for him rather than for a Democrat." She and other young Republicans (they remain "young" in California until they reach the mid-40s, and Mrs. Archer herself has a couple of teen-age daughters) would prefer to "unify" behind Ronald Reagan in the 1966 gubernatorial campaign.

The prospects for "unity" behind anyone were severely damaged when ex-Gov. Knight attacked Ronald Reagan for having once been a Democrat and for having consorted with radicals in film colony organizations that were infiltrated by Communists during the ideological warfare of the 1940s.

This was an extremely stupid charge for "Goodie" Knight to bring up, for it gave Ronald Reagan the chance to riposte that only those who have run up against Communists in organization work can really appreciate the dangers they represent. And as for criticism for having "once been a Democrat," Mr. Reagan scored against "Goodie" Knight by remarking that he hadn't realized that belonging to the Democratic party, which includes millions of patriotic Americans, could possibly be construed as evidence per se of "leftism."

Ex-Gov. Knight is now in the position of having managed in one and the same breath to insult loyal American Democrats and hurt Republican chances for unity. This is bumbling with a vengeance. It is certainly not a way for Republicans to elect a governor of California.

True enough, Democratic Gov. Brown is also a fairly accomplished bumbler. But his mistakes are often of the lovable variety. When he remarked that the flood damage in northern California was "the worst disaster since my election," everybody laughed. But they laughed as they used to laugh at the malapropisms of movie producer Sam Goldwyn, who wanted to be "included out." If Pat Brown can establish himself as the Sam Goldwyn of politics, who knows where he might go?

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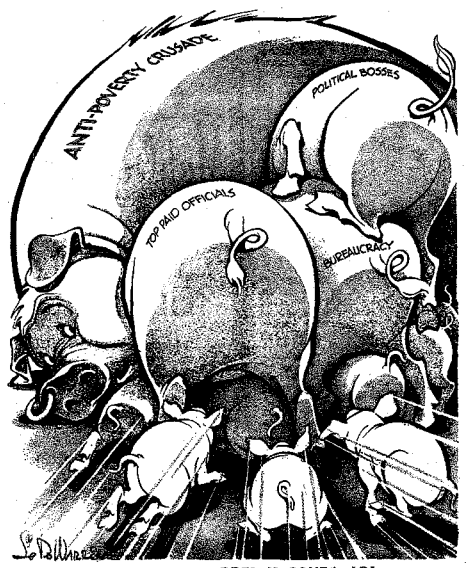

'THE PORK BARREL IS GONE!'—LBJ.
Courtesy Cincinnati *Enquirer*

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"LAMENTS A WHITE HOUSE AIDE: 'This government is like a Hydra. Chop off one scheme for spending money, and two more immediately sprout in its place.'"—From *U. S. News & World Report*

National Committee Hassle Continues

From the Allen-Scott Report

California State Republican Chairman Gaylord Parkinson is forging to the fore as "compromise" choice for next head of the Republican State Chairmen Advisory Committee. Another proposed "compromise" is Minnesota State Chairman Robert Forsythe. Of the two, Parkinson is drawing the most significant support. . . .

Ohio Chairman Ray Bliss is relinquishing the Advisory Committee chairmanship when he becomes National Chairman next month.

Two prominent state chairman actively campaigning to succeed him are Pennsylvania's Craig Truax and Mississippi's Wirt Yerger (see *Human Events* last week). Both are being vigorously backed by regional colleagues—Yerger by the Southern Republican State Chairmen's Conference; Truax by the Northeastern Republican State Chairmen's Conference.

Crux of their candidacies is the still-rumbling feud between Goldwater and opposition factions.

Parkinson, a practicing physician, was a Goldwater supporter but has maintained good terms with other factions. All highly regard his organizing and administrative ability.

Because of the tense sectional differences between the Truax and Yerger forces, Parkinson's prospects as "compromise" choice are deemed distinctly promising. Also importantly enhancing his outlook is the growing inner party view that Bliss favors him.

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Police Hindered by Court's 'Escobedo Rule'

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The chickens of Danny Escobedo are coming home to roost; and under the criminal rule thus symbolized, the hoodlums of our society will be dining on white meat while the police are stuck with the neck.

Danny Escobedo is not, as you might surmise, one of the quaint paisanos of John Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat*. He is a young Mexican who was convicted in Chicago five years ago of the murder of his brother-in-law. His name now attaches to the most significant Supreme Court case, in terms of law enforcement, since Mallory eight years ago.

January's *Journal of the American Bar Association* brings word of a weird application of the Escobedo rule in a California case. Recently, in an address at Williamsburg, Harvard's Prof. Yale Kamisar, who strongly supports the rule, suggested its wide extension elsewhere. It is evident—one might almost say imperative—that law enforcement officers throughout the nation must understand the Escobedo rule. They may lose a lot of convictions if they don't.

The Escobedo rule, laid down by the Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision last June, deals with the Sixth Amendment guarantee that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right . . . to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

Over a long period of years, the reference to "criminal prosecutions" was interpreted to mean the actual court proceedings of a trial. Then, in the Spano case in 1959, the rule was expanded to say that "after a defendant has been indicted," he is "clearly entitled to a lawyer's help."

The doctrine of Spano was further strengthened in May of last year, when a majority of the Supreme Court over the strong dissent of White, Harlan and Clark, threw out certain evidence that had been obtained against a narcotics smuggler named Massiah after his indictment and in the absence of his counsel.

Then, on June 22 of last year, came the case of Escobedo. The murder in question occurred on Jan. 19, 1960. Chicago police questioned Escobedo at the time, but his family retained a lawyer who got him released on *habeas corpus*. Eleven days later, acting on new information, detectives again took Escobedo to the station house at 11th and State Streets. They questioned him for several hours, while his lawyer, who had learned of the renewed interrogation, roamed the corridors vainly demanding to see his client. In the end, Escobedo broke, and confessed complicity in the crime. He was tried and convicted on the evidence thus obtained.

In reversing the conviction, the Supreme Court's five-man majority laid down the new rule that a right to counsel begins at the moment when "a general inquiry into an unsolved crime has begun to focus on a particular suspect." Law enforcement officers are to understand henceforth that "when the process shifts from investigatory to accusatory—when its purpose is to elicit a confession—our adversary system begins to operate, and under the circumstances here, the accused must be permitted to consult with his lawyer."

In a furious dissenting opinion, Justice Byron White denounced the Escobedo ruling as "wholly unworkable and impossible to administer." Law enforcement would be "crippled," he said, and the task of police made a great deal more difficult.

Justice Potter Stewart spoke even more sharply: "I think the court perverts those precious constitutional guarantees, and frustrates the vital interest of society in preserving the legitimate and proper function of honest and purposeful police investigation."

Justice John M. Harlan termed the new rule "most ill-conceived," and predicted that it would "seriously and unjustifiably fetter perfectly legitimate methods of criminal law enforcement."

Nevertheless, the Escobedo rule now applies; and police officers who fail to advise a suspect of his full Sixth Amendment rights, including the right to remain silent and the right to obtain a lawyer, are imperiling the value of any evidence they so obtain.

In California, the ABA journal reports, the state supreme court has reversed the conviction of a San Quentin prisoner who killed a fellow inmate, because three voluntary confessions were made "at a time when he did not have counsel." It is not necessary, said the California court, that a suspect ask for an attorney; he must be told of his right to have one, and given an opportunity to have counsel summoned to his side.

The Escobedo rule points to the day when all criminal prosecutions must be based wholly on extrinsic evidence, and not at all upon voluntary admissions of an accused. As the dissenting justices made clear, no such limitation on law enforcement had been imagined until the night the cops took Escobedo to State Street. The policeman's lot, which historically is not a happy one, is even less happy now.

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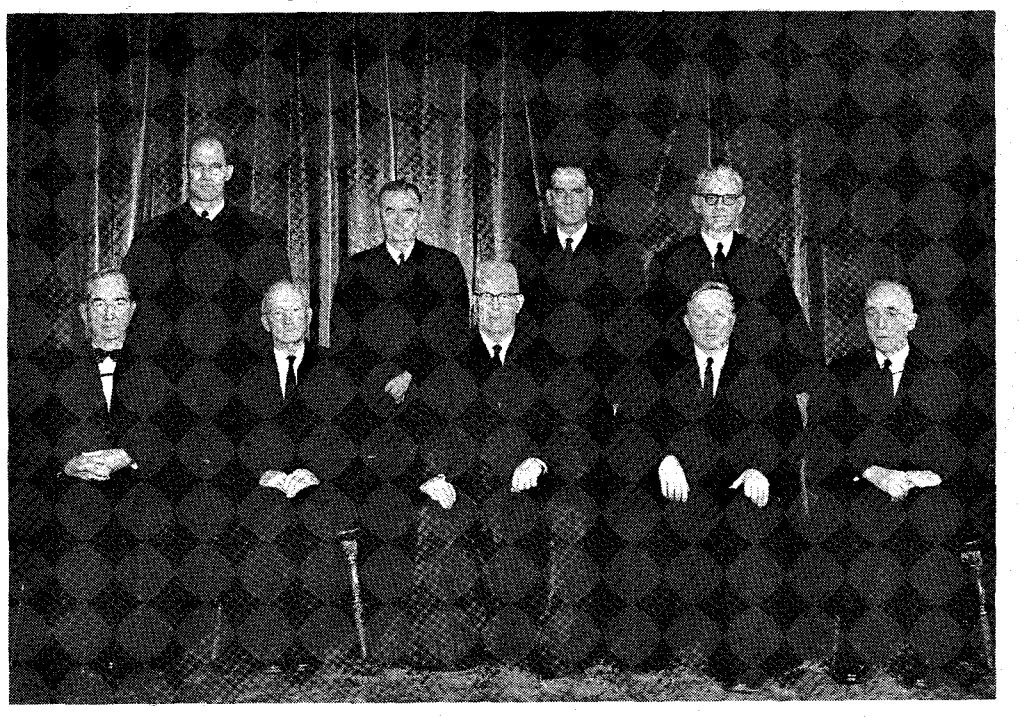

The Supreme Court. Standing (left to right): Justices Byron White, William Brennan, Potter Stewart, Arthur Goldberg. Seated (left to right): Justices Tom Clark, Hugo Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, William Douglas, John Harlan.

Job Corpsman Receives More than Military Man

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

A highly illuminating article appeared in the January 27 issue of the *Air Force Times*.

In clear detail, it underscores that it is more advantageous to be a member of the new Job Corps than to serve as an enlisted man in the three lowest grades in the armed services.

The *Air Force Times* points out that a member of the Job Corps is paid $80 a month as a trainee and, after 10 months, can make as much as $100 a month.

Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa)

Additionally, a Job Corps man gets a $75 a year clothing allowance plus a terminal payment of $50 for each month he has served after completion of Corps duty. If he elects, a corpsman may send home each month $25 of the $50 monthly terminal payment and the government will match it with another $25 a month. Atop this, the money he sends home does not have to go to a dependent, as military allotments must.

In actuality, a corpsman can be earning as much as $125 a month, excluding clothing allowance.

Let us now look at the person who enlists or is drafted into the service. I quote from the article:

"The man entering military service gets $78 a month. He can get an allotment only if he has dependents for whom he supplies at least half of their support. After four months of service, his base pay goes up to $83.20 a month. During his first two years of service, even if he rises to the rank of E-3, he will get only $99.37 a month."

The article pointedly examines the recruiting material provided Job Corps men which tell them:

"The purpose is to help you get and keep a good job, maybe return to school, or join the Army or Navy."

And as the article concluded, "if they do join the Army, Navy or Air Force; they will have to take a pay cut."

This is a sorry state of affairs when the men electing to serve their nation in the Armed Forces are paid less than those who will serve in the Job Corps.

□ □ □

TRICKY—President Johnson sends his crime message to Congress. It was a tricky one to write. He didn't want to embarrass anybody on Capitol Hill—or in the White House.—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Continued from Page One

LBJ's Voting Rights Speech

to ask that all voters should pass a reasonable, modest literacy test."

Another major argument against the President's bill is that under the 1957, 1960 and 1964 Civil Rights Acts the machinery to achieve fair voting is already available. In Selma, as a result of a federal court order in February, nearly 3,000 Negroes have made applications to register. In the absence of proper cause, if these applicants aren't registered by July a federal judge can ensure that they will be registered through court-appointed officials.

The political bias of these election proposals is strikingly apparent. Under LBJ's formula, federal registrars will be able to go into those states which have literacy or similar qualifying tests and in which the director of the census determines that fewer than 50 per cent of the people were registered to vote in the November 1964 election, or fewer than 50 per cent actually voted.

As of now, seven states are immediately brought under the scope of the LBJ proposals, five of these states just happened to vote for Sen. Barry Goldwater in 1964. If the politically appointed registrars are able to do away with major voting qualifications, including literacy tests, it is not hard to imagine that thousands of "functionally illiterate Negroes," to borrow a term from Bobby Kennedy, could be put on the rolls by these registrars. Since Negroes tend to vote heavily Democratic, the political motivation of LBJ and his chorts of these proposals are not hard to understand.

Negroes certainly have the right to vote on the same basis as other citizens—and this should be strictly enforced—but voting illiterates, black or white, will not help the democratic process. It would be wise for Congress to take a longer look at the President's proposals than he has suggested.

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Is He Right?

U Thant Cites Native Burma As Model in Asian Struggle

By WALTER TROHAN

U Thant, secretary general of the United Nations, recently cited his native Burma as a nation which dealt with a Communist threat within its borders "without asking for any outside military assistance, or outside military arms, or outside military advisers—or whatever you call them."

He made this statement in advocating informal negotiations for the establishment of what he termed a stable government in South Viet Nam and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from that part of the world.

Let's take a look at Burma, where U Thant had cabinet status before heading the U.N. secretariat. The present government seized power by a military coup by Gen. Ne Win. He suspended parliamentary rule, pushed a Socialist program, patterned after those of Moscow, and nationalized many industries.

Press services cannot maintain bureaus in Burma. Visas are all but impossible to get for any visitors, let alone the press. Burma may not be a Communist satellite, but it is certainly a police state. Obviously its sympathies are not with the West.

Is this the pattern Thant favors for South Viet Nam? The answer would seem to be clear when he cites Burma as a model.

Thant is the man who hasn't been able to collect more than $50 million the Russians owe the United Nations.

Thant tells Americans, in private talks with them, that he is sympathetic with the anti-Communist West. No doubt he shares another confidence with Russian leaders and citizens. It must be acknowledged, in all fairness, that he isn't solely responsible for the Russian U.N. default.

In calling for a peaceful settlement, which would mean American withdrawal from South Viet Nam, Thant said: "I am sure that the great American people, if they only knew the true facts and the background developments in South Viet Nam, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary."

Thant did not detail what he considers the facts to be. It is known that he feels military action will not resolve the situation and that Communist China, which the United States does not recognize, is a factor. He did not spell out what these "facts" mean or should mean to the American people.

He has said that he favors a reconvening of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indo-China, which divided the country, north and south. This conference, he feels, would work out a political settlement which would give South Viet Nam a nonaligned status. This would make South Viet Nam neutral against the West as Burma is.

U. N. Secretary General U Thant

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U.S. Doesn't Need U Thant's Advice

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

U Thant, secretary general of the United Nations, in offering unsolicited advice on what U.S. policy should be in Viet Nam, said in part:

"I am sure that the great American people, if they only knew the true facts about Viet Nam, would agree with me that no further bloodshed is necessary."

Thus, the U.N. secretary general reaches a new low in his anti-U.S. record by charging the United States with untruthful conduct in Viet Nam.

If U Thant has a consistent, legitimate interest in the truth, he should see that the true facts of Nasser's slaughter of civilians in Yemen be made known to the world at large. He should see that the true facts of Red Chinese genocide against the people of Tibet be made known to the world. He should see to it that the participation of Nasser, Ben Bella and the government leaders of the Sudan in the terrorist campaign in the Congo be truthfully reported.

Where was U Thant and his remarkable interest in the truth when Dr. Carlson and hundreds of other missionaries were slain in the Congo by Communist-inspired barbarians?

The truth of the matter is that the secretary general of the United Nations is a Marxist. His philosophic addiction to communism shows itself repeatedly. His philosophic antagonism against the United States, its government structure and its principles shows itself repeatedly.

We do not need the secretary general of the United Nations to help us save face in Viet Nam. What he should do in order to help bring about a world of peace and freedom is to have the United Nations take up the issues I have mentioned—Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe, atrocities in the Congo, Nasser's slaughter of the Yemeni people, Red Chinese slaughter of Tibetans, as well as illicit Communist domination of Cuba, North Korea and other lands.

Comfortable Confusion in New Immigration Bill

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In the face of aggressive questioning recently by the House Subcommittee on Immigration, embarrassed Administration spokesmen have been trying to defend some indefensible propositions. The Hart-Celler immigration reform bill (H.R. 2580) is no reform at all. It includes most of the pointless features of the present legislation, including a five-year extension of the myth that immigration is tied to a national origins formula. And strangely enough, it perpetuates some confused loopholes in the admission of refugees:

- It re-enacts the "fair share" refugee program of 1950, under which the United States agrees to take 25 per cent of the number of refugees determined by the U. N. High Commissioner. Our quota is about 4,000.
- It continues the present authority to admit additional refugees to a number which is 10 per cent of the present national origins quota. This is an additional 16,000.
- It empowers the attorney general to admit as many refugees as he sees fit on parole for good behavior. In recent years, this category has included an average of 50,000 every year.

Now, the questioning brought out that these programs essentially duplicate each other. There is no rationale to administer the refugee problem under three separate guises. The unnecessary complexity is an open invitation to manipulation. And indeed, as the congressmen pressed further, they discovered at least five other notable facts:

1. In the course of deleting certain clauses of the present law on "fair share" refugees, the writers inserted a blind cause providing that our future "fair share" would be determined by an open-end decision of the State Department instead of by the U. N. High Commissioner on Refugees. In effect, the number would be unlimited by law.

2. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach testified that he hadn't asked for extension of the Justice Department's parole program (also unlimited); the extension apparently was asked by the State Department for political reasons.

3. For the purposes of refugees administration, the geographic area of the "mid-east" is defined in the bill as all territory between and including Pakistan and Morocco. This extreme definition apparently would include many refugees from Algeria who were driven out by Arab hostility.

4. Under a provision for admitting persons of lesser skills which are "especially advantageous to" the nation, at least 70,000 refugees from central Africa could qualify. A representative of the NAACP testified that persons of lesser skills should not be admitted while we were engaged in a program to upgrade and retrain our own people.

5. Despite Administration alarm over the 4,000 special bills introduced for the particular cases of individuals, Congress deemed only 197 of these worthy of passage, affecting 300 persons.

For all the pious humanitarianism of the Administration, it is evident that the proponents of the Hart-Celler bill are less than candid about what the bill would do.

Immigration ought to have a fixed over-all quota. Flexibility within the quota should be strictly defined by law. Administrative policy decisions should be removed as far as possible from the uncontrollable bureaucracy. And the refugee problem ought to be discussed above board, so that there can be no question that only the most simple and noble motives lie behind our generosity. Yet the more the dank and musty corners of this bad bill are aired, the more the conviction grows that some parties are interested in leaving the matter in comfortable confusion.

Constitutional Amendment On State Apportionment

From the Des Moines *Register*

A proposed constitutional amendment which would alter the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on apportionment of state legislatures is now before Congress. If passed, the proposal would have to be ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the states to become effective.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) introduced the proposed amendment in the Senate. It was co-sponsored by all Republican senators, except Clifford P. Case of New Jersey and Jacob K. Javits of New York, and by eight Democratic senators. Similar legislation is before the House. A number of state legislatures have urged Congress to act on the proposed amendment. . . .

The Dirksen amendment would nullify the U. S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision, that both houses of a bicameral legislature must be apportioned on a population basis. It would permit one house to be apportioned "upon the basis of factors other than population." These other factors are not specified but could be geographical area, political subdivisions such as counties, economic interests, etc.

We agree with the principle expressed in this proposed amendment that "the right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a state and the apportionment of the membership thereof shall remain in the people of that state."

Under the Dirksen amendment, this "right" of the people would not be absolute and unqualified. One house would still have to meet the court's "one man, one vote" requirement. The amendment attempts to assure that any apportionment plan would be one approved by the people. It says that a valid apportionment plan must be submitted to a vote of the people and be approved by a majority of those voting on the issue. . . .

Under the Dirksen amendment, there might be difficulty in getting legislatures in some states to submit good representation plans to the voters. The unwillingness of legislatures to do this in the past is largely responsible for the U. S. Supreme Court's intervention in the complex field of apportionment.

However, the threat of court reapportionment could make legislatures more responsive to the people's desires in the future. . . .

We see no reason . . . why the "one man, one vote" principle should not apply to adoption of a state plan for apportionment. If a majority of the people want one house of a legislature based on factors other than population alone, why overrule their judgment?

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"I DO NOT BELIEVE in the capacity of the state to plan and enforce an active, high-grade economic productivity upon its members or subjects. No matter how numerous are the committees they set up, or the ever-growing hordes of officials they employ, or the severity of the punishments they inflict or threaten, they cannot approach the high level of internal economic production which, under free enterprise, personal initiative, competitive selection, the profit motive corrected by failure, and the infinite processes of good housekeeping and personal ingenuity, constitutes the life of a free society."—Winston S. Churchill, October 1947, in the House of Commons

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Due Process Is American Way

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

Our American way is due process of law—not defiance, not demagoguery, not violence.

Continuing strife and violence in Selma, Ala., add emphasis to the fact that breakdowns in law and order do not aid the cause of justice or resolve differences. Neither side in the turmoil in Selma is to be praised. The demonstrators have flaunted state laws. The sheriff and his men have been too quick to use clubs rather than reason in dealing with an explosive situation.

We hold no brief for the lack of restraint on the part of the law enforcement officers of Selma. Neither do we condone the contempt for law and order evidenced by the demonstrators and the outside agitators spurring them on.

The nation now has a strong civil rights act. That law should be given an opportunity to work. Those who seek the protection of the law should respect and support law and order.

The planned 50-mile march by several hundred Negroes from Selma to the Alabama capital at Montgomery would have been a violation of law.

There are extremists—both Negro and white—who would like very much to see a demonstration turn into violence. There is always the danger of such a demonstration turning into a full-scale race riot.

In a situation as tense as that in Alabama, both sides must learn to exercise reason and restraint. In an orderly society, grievances must be presented and satisfied through legal processes and not through unlawful means.

Nehru's Neutralism Created Present Red Danger for India

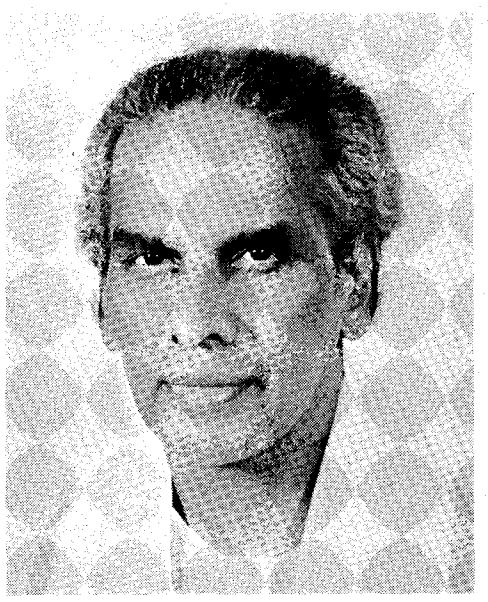
By HENRY J. TAYLOR

San Francisco—Being on this Pacific flank of our country brings all Far Eastern questions much closer to home. Again, our troops and treasures pour from this port to the Orient—a staging area for our North Viet Nam war.

As Red China pushes on South Viet Nam, her shadow falling on Japan, India also guesses "What next?" The curling smoke of the Communist campfires dot the hills of New Delhi. The glow spreads there like a wasting disease.

One of the major problems (and mysteries) in our own country today is that so many intellectuals are either too civilized or too dense to grasp the obvious about Communist imperialism. So was a darling of many of them, the late great faker Jawaharlal Nehru.

In India it is commonly stated that the greatest peril of communism does



Red-lining Krishna Menon (above) was Nehru's trusted aide.

not come from the pitiable poor. It comes from intellectual circles.

Intellectualism in France, Italy and Britain contains some of the same daze. The phrase, "I'd rather be Red than dead," did not spring fron London's dismal Soho. It was born in the intellectual circles at the London School of Economics, et al.

Nehru, who shaped postwar India's neutrality, started his day by standing on his head, yoga fashion, and apparently viewed the world from this position for the rest of the day.

He imprisoned Communists (and others) who threatened his rule at home. But he refused to align India on the side of those who oppose world communism and based his career on playing off the West against the Sino-Soviet menace.

His performance was a story of sophisticated political venality at home and unprincipled opportunism abroad. It was an affair of slogan-making, high verbiage and sanctimonious manners, not unlike the Bible-carrying parson who robbed the stagecoach and turned out to be Jesse James.

In his double-game of playing us off against the Soviet bloc he extracted some $8 billion from the American taxpayers, the receipt of which, I might add, he always greeted as peanuts. He just sniffed his famous rosebud as each billion arrived and said, "How wise of you."

Nehru's chief pawn of this double-game was Red-wing Indian Defense Minister V.K. Krishna Menon. American anger fell on Krishna Menon, not Nehru. The latter knew that President Kennedy and Congress abhorred Krishna Menon as much as Moscow and Peking loved him. So on White House visits Nehru whispered to President Kennedy that he completely disapproved of everything his defense minister said and did. Krishna Menon? Who, that rat? Be patient, was Nehru's implication, meaning don't cut the money.

Yet this wily, violent Red was Nehru's protege and remained his political child. Both were of the same political party and even when their party defrocked Krishna Menon in 1962 Nehru angrily told Krishna Menon's critics in a speech in Bombay on January 15 to "go to hell."

As thanks for this, Red China invaded India's northern area and remains there. The Himalayas are not so high when you see them, or circumventable, for the terrain below is high. Mt. Everest rises only 15,000 feet above the plateau. Any prospect of our defeat in South Viet Nam, *in turn*, *enormously* helps the Red gains in India, for the Reds depend on the prestige of violence.

Kerala, a key state in the south, has always been a Red political stronghold. Literacy is high and in the local government the intellectuals are in the saddle. And recently Kerala held an important election.

Pro-Peking Communists captured 40 of the 133 seats in the legislative assembly. A pro-Moscow faction took three. The New Delhi government of wishy-washy Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, another Nehru protege, was all but tossed into the Ganges River.

Twenty-nine of the Communist candidates elected were, and remain, in prison. New Delhi has issued orders to the army to keep them there. This is the only way Shastri's central government has functioned at all since September.

Neutralism, Nehru-style, is a word that fails to serve freedom. And in the partial and misleading, though tempting, explanations that many confused intellectuals give for appeasement the risk is mortal.

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"NO ONE HAS SEEMED in the least aware that everything which is paid for must be paid for out of production, for there is no other source of payment."—Albert Jay Nock

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"FOLKS USED TO WORRY because they couldn't take it with them. In today's tax climate their only worry is whether it will last as long as they do."—From the Bandera *Frontier News*

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Between 1941 and 1945, 106,000 Americans lost their lives, 172,000 were wounded, and $100 billion of American money was spent, to drive the Japs out of Asia. To permit the Reds to take over now would mean to lose all that America won in the Pacific during World War II. —Rep. Clarence Brown (R.-Ohio)

Not as LBJ Does

By REP. JOHN ANDERSON (R.-Ill.)

On February 18th the House voted to authorize an additional $750 million for the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). Meanwhile, "back at the ranch," (in this case the East Room of the White House) the President of the United States was addressing 370 American businessmen and international bankers on our serious balance-of-payments problem and the urgent necessity of stemming the outward flow of American capital. He used these words to underscore the gravity of the situation: "I want you to go back to your offices and call in your controllers and your vice presidents. I want you to ask them to consult you every time they face a decision that involves sending money abroad. And I count on you to cut those outflows to the bone."

Yet, when an amendment was offered on the House floor stating that before any payments of additional capital be made to the IDB the President should look at our balance-of-payments situation and then determine if it would be in our national interest to proceed with the payment, it was defeated at the insistence of Administration forces. This was an incredible example of asking the private sector of the economy to "do what I say and not what I do."

Communist Imports

By SEN. GEORGE MURPHY (R.-Calif.)

Communist prices do not reflect costs of production. Nor are Communist export policies aimed primarily at raising the standard of living of their own peoples. Rather, they are designed often to damage the economies of the free nations. The Red bloc is still bent on our destruction through an all-out economic and ideological struggle, and their state-owned industries and export policies are weapons in that struggle. . . . I am opposed to allowing imports from Communist countries which cause unfair competition to industries within our own country at a time when our nation . . . suffers from substantial unemployment.

Federal Interference

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

Recent reports have it that a small community in Michigan is included in the federal program to fight "poverty." Despite the opposition of local public officials, from both major parties, the community is due to receive $188,000 from Unce Sam to attack problems which local officials claim do not exist and have never existed in their area.

This is an example of the federal government's attempt to interfere in local affairs when local officials have not asked for any assistance. One part of the problem is that the federal stamp of "poverty" on the area gives it a certain black eye in some quarters, and this the local residents want to avoid. In addition, they see no reason for pumping federal dollars into their community when there are other areas in the country which may very well need some financial and technical assistance.

Disarmament Agency

By SEN. ALLEN J. ELLENDER (D.-La.)

What business does the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency have in spending large amounts of government money with outside research firms to study what impact the curtailment of a military activity will have on the economy of an area? I admit that such studies may be valuable, but the truth is that much work in this field is already being done by the Departments of Labor and Defense. Why have another agency perform the same work in triplicate, and at greater expense?

Reds in Africa

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The Chinese Communists have been working for only about two years in Africa, and have won their first major victory. In the former French Congo, an inexperienced leadership agreed to the formation of one political party that included everyone and this pronounced their doom as a republic. As soon as the merger was accomplished, the leftists easily slipped into spots that controlled the army and police. The rest was easy. Today, the Chinese Communist news service is the only voice heard and Chinese "advisors" are seen daily at the homes and offices of all major officials in the capital of Brazzaville. Children and young people are forced into the militaristic-type youth corps and those who refuse to join are unceremoniously beaten within an inch of their lives—some maimed for life by roving bands of "recruiters."

Me Do 'Stoop' Labor?

Arizona Republic Staff Artist
By Reg Manning

Courtesy Arizona *Republic*

No Federal Aid Needed For Progress in Education

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

Just 10 years ago the nation was awakening to a problem which had alarmed professional educators for some time. After years of depression and war, which left a backlog of construction needs and a shortage of teachers, the school system was not prepared for the 50 per cent increased enrollment of "war babies" which would start in the mid-1950s. Between 1930 and 1935 school enrollment was relatively stable at 28.5 million. Now, in 10 years it would mushroom to 43 million.

President Eisenhower's 1955 White House Conference on Education concluded that expenditures would have to double within 10 years. The 1958 Rockefeller Fund Report urged that we raise educational expenditure from 3.6 per cent to 5 per cent of the Gross National Product. It called state and local tax systems "archaic" and indicted the property tax system as "notably laggard" as a revenue source for education. Professional education groups, some federal officials, and many concerned individuals then concluded that this gloomy picture could only be changed with a massive infusion of federal money to support education.

A decade has now passed during which federal contributions to education have always remained under 5 per cent of total expenditure. Thus, the challenge of the past decade has been met by state and local effort. To see how well local government has met the problem which so many said could only be solved with federal aid, let's take a good look at the record.

Elementary and secondary school enrollment has increased 44 per cent since 1954. Expenditures are up 77 per cent. In 10 years our national investment in education has more than doubled. Expenditures per public school increased 50 per cent from $296 in 1953-54 to $444 in 1963-64. The number of teachers has increased 55 per cent. And teachers' salaries are up by 43 per cent.

Since 1954 we have invested over $30 billion in public school construction and have built nearly 70,000 classrooms—considerably more than the 400,000 which the experts of 1954 predicted we would need.

Though the Rockefeller report said we should be spending 5 per cent of the Gross National Product for education by 1967, we were doing this by 1962. The "notably laggard" property tax which yielded $10.7 billion in 1955 rose to $19 billion in 1962 for an increase of 78 per cent.

Admittedly this dramatic record was partly stimulated because Russia's Sputnik revealed significant weaknesses in the quality of our education. But the fact remains that it was accomplished without the massive federal aid which the experts of 1955 said was essential.

Today we face another decade. With the "war babies" practically through school, elementary and secondary enrollment is expected to increase by only 13 per cent as compared with the 45 per cent explosion for the 10 years ending in 1963. But the cries of crisis are still with us, only this time they justify massive federal aid to education as part of the war on poverty.

Practically every American wants to help now just as he wanted to help in education's last "crisis." And judging from the magnificent past record of the American people and local government they will continue to rise to responsibility—without federal aid.

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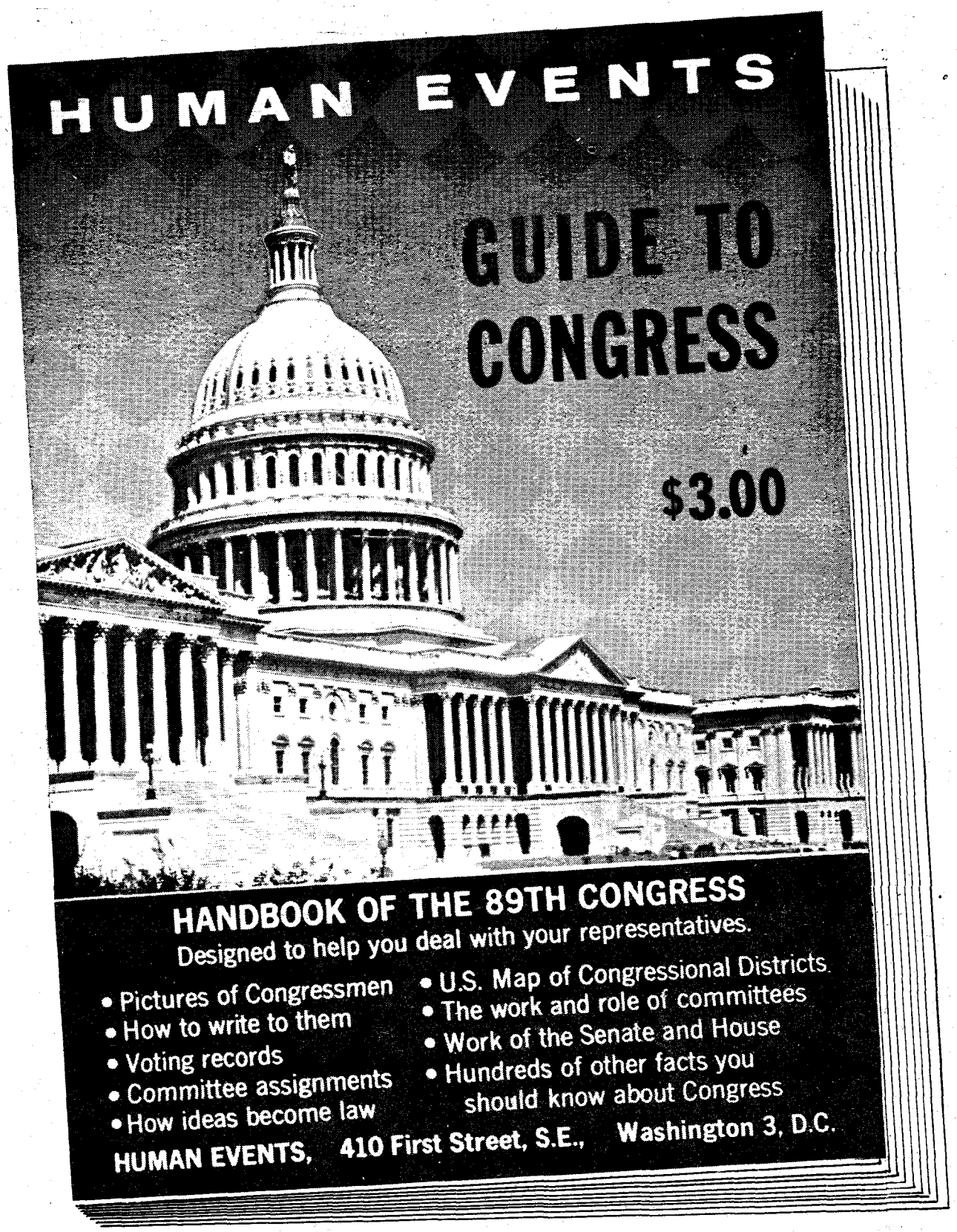
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